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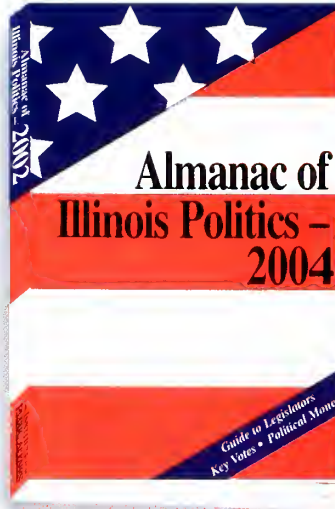
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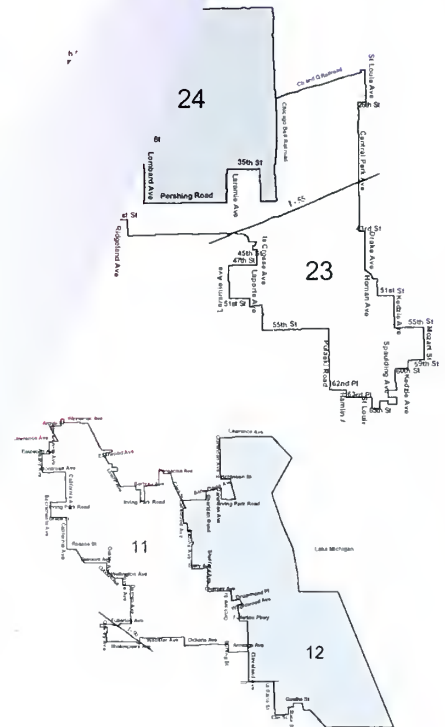
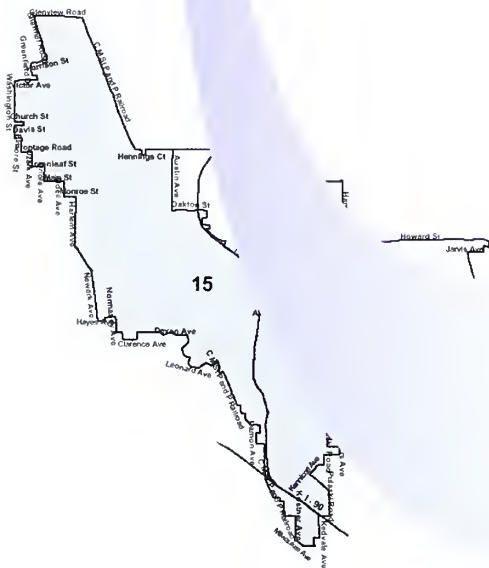
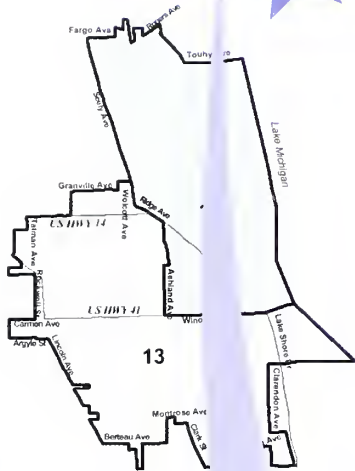
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The history of presidential campaigning can offer perspective, if not solace

by Peggy Boyer Long

The Democratic senator from Massachusetts won the debate without breaking a sweat. Literally. No, not John Kerry. That was John Kennedy, who went head-to-head with Republican Richard Nixon on Chicago television.

It was the first of four debates, the most ever between presidential

Deadlines Past: Forty Years of Presidential Campaigning: A Reporter's Story

by *Walter R. Mears*
Indiana McMeel Book Review 2002

the campaign, leaving only sideline candidates, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas among them. But they couldn't stop Kennedy after those primary victories. He had not won enough delegates to clinch the nominating majority; the reform system that enabled candidates to do that was a dozen years away.

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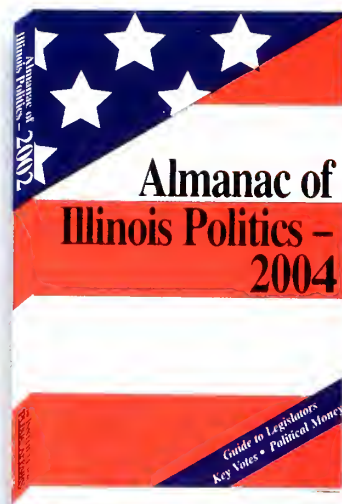
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Peggy Boyer Long



The history of presidential campaigning can offer perspective, if not solace

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The Democratic senator from Massachusetts won the debate without breaking a sweat. Literally. No, not John Kerry. That was John Kennedy, who went head-to-head with Republican Richard Nixon on Chicago television.

It was the first of four debates, the most ever between presidential contenders. Kennedy scored because he looked young and energetic under the studio lights. Nixon suffered from a knee infection and a bad make-up job. The year was 1960.

And it was the beginning of a new era of presidential campaigning.

Former Associated Press newsman Walter Mears believes that campaign season was notable for other reasons. It heralded the rise of television in politics and sparked a shift in the nominating process. Mears, who won a Pulitzer Prize for political reporting, had a front-row seat for 11 presidential campaigns, 1960 through the overtime suspense of 2000. And he has collected those experiences between hard covers. *Deadlines Past: Forty Years of Presidential Campaigning: A Reporter's Story* is part journalist's memoir and part national history.

Deadlines Past: Forty Years of Presidential Campaigning: A Reporter's Story

by *Walter R. Mears*
Andrews McMeel Publishing, 2003

It begins with 1960. That election was just about the last time a presidential candidate could wander the country beyond the eye of the camera or the reach of crowds, just about the last time winning votes was truly a face-to-face affair. And it was the beginning of the end of control by political bosses.

Party leaders still chose the nominees in 1960, though there had been primaries since 1903. But Kennedy, Mears writes, set out to prove that a junior senator from Massachusetts, a Catholic, could win the presidency. "When Kennedy won in West Virginia — 95 percent Protestant, Bible Belt country — his only active rival, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, quit

the campaign, leaving only sideline candidates, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas among them. But they couldn't stop Kennedy after those primary victories. He had not won enough delegates to clinch the nominating majority; the reform system that enabled candidates to do that was a dozen years away. Kennedy's winning strategy was to use the primaries to make his national name, prove his ability to win, and establish himself as a leader the party bosses could neither ignore nor snub at the national convention."

And this is what it has come to. The presidential race now entails Internet fundraising, back-to-back multicandidate debates, 24-7 television scrutiny and a scramble for percentages and delegates in a front-loaded, fast-moving, cross-country schedule of caucuses and primaries. It's *Survivor: The Campaign*. Will more than one, maybe two, Democratic candidates remain on the island when you read this? Likely not.

Still, history can offer perspective, if not solace. Illinoisans, who head to the polls this month to make their

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presidential choices, might be disappointed — and understandably so — if the game on the Democratic side is over before they step into the booth. Mears' book provides a readable antidote, though, to these late-primary blues. What comes through, as he traces the four-decade arc of presidential selection, is just how subject to chance it can be. The intelligent strategy that doesn't work. The surefire endorsement that bombs. The ad that backfires. The tongue that slips. The photo-op that won't die. Michael Dukakis' 1988 presidential bid comes to mind as something of a set-piece on the things that can go wrong. It will be a while before we know what to make of Howard Dean's up-like-a-rocket, down-like-a-rock campaign.

Beyond the quirky particularity of the candidates and the races are what Mears considers landmark moments. Among them, the first of the negative television commercials. "None were more adroit or more devastating than the 1964 Democratic ads implying that [Barry] Goldwater would risk nuclear war." The first was the famous daisy petal ad that showed a little girl counting backward to a nuclear explosion. It was run only once. "The [Lyndon] Johnson campaign did not have to sponsor it again," he writes. "The television networks rebroadcast it repeatedly as news, the pictures and text were run in the newspapers."

There are technological advances that inevitably change politics. The roles of the Internet and cable TV are still in evolution. On this, Mears has some thoughts. "In theory, more voices, more outlets, and the unlimited time and space of cable television and the Internet should deliver more information and encourage more interest. Instead, imitation news, shouted opinions, and plain rumor have flowed in to fill the time and space. Instead of attracting people, the news noise level distracts them. The throngs who waited for Kennedy and Nixon

in 1960, the fathers who held a small child aloft to see the man who might be president are fewer and rarer now. The familiarity of TV may have bred disinterest instead of engagement. People can see and effectively be at a campaign rally without going there."

True. But, oddly, a kind of intimacy has been recovered by the roving, nonjudgmental camera of C-Span. Yes, we could, if we chose, "attend" every rally in every cow pasture in Iowa. We could follow every candidate to every diner. We could even spend the night at a caucus. Of course, this gave us ample opportunity to observe that Iowans often seemed as befuddled by it all as the rest of us. There are critics who argue that Iowa doesn't reflect the diversity of the country, that it shouldn't be first in the political lineup. Or that Iowans shouldn't be given such clout because they won't know what to do with it. That may be true as well. Yet it is still a place where the serious candidate must pull up a chair, put his or her feet under the kitchen table and share some actual face time with voters. The rest of us can be there, too. And, in that sense, Iowa has become the nation's caucus.

There is a downside for the candidates in all this exposure. If Dean's now-infamous speech had occurred out of the camera's line of sight, if there is such a place, it never would have hit what Mears calls the echo chamber. That speech was replayed hundreds of times on television and set to music on the Internet. But who's to say what was bad for Dean wasn't good for us?

There may be fewer presidential contenders by the time the road show gets to Illinois. But look at it this way: We'll know more about the survivors than did the voters in Iowa or New Hampshire. So vote as if it still matters. It just might, over the long run anyway. □

Peggy Boyer Long can be reached at peggyboy@aol.com.

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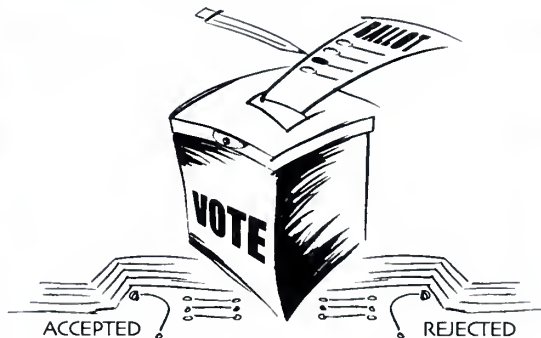
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BRIEFLY

Photograph courtesy of Jason Bujak

THE MIKVA CHALLENGE

Chicago teens join primary campaigns

When U.S. Sen. John Kerry solidified his front-runner status in the Democratic primary campaign, 58 Chicago teenagers were in New Hampshire to see it. The high school students from mostly low-income families got a chance to travel to the Granite State and see the process up close, thanks to a non-partisan organization called the Mikva Challenge.

They attended campaign strategy classes at St. Anselm College in Manchester — the site of a Democratic debate — and each volunteered five days for the presidential campaign of their choice. The program was created for city kids who might not get that kind of exposure, says Cynthia Canary, director of the Illinois Campaign for Political Reform and president of the Mikva Challenge board. “It’s really hands-on civics.”

The students, mostly juniors and seniors, attend 12 Chicago public schools and two Catholic schools. They were selected because they showed an interest in social issues or politics. Their trips were paid for by the 6-year-old Mikva Challenge, named for former White House Counsel and federal Judge Abner Mikva and his wife Zoe. The nonprofit organization runs numerous civic education programs designed to inspire young people to participate in public affairs — regardless of their political leanings. Past groups of students volunteered at the 2000 Iowa Caucus and attended President George W. Bush’s inauguration.

One of this year’s participants is Elisabeth Leanos, 16, a junior at Curie Metropolitan High School on Chicago’s Southwest Side. A Howard Dean supporter, Leanos jumped at the chance to work phone banks, carry campaign signs and canvass neighborhoods in New Hampshire for her favorite candidate.



Chicago Mikva Challenge students Catherine Melsheimer, at left, and Shaquawna Vinnett, at right, are pictured on the campaign trail with teacher Lauren Kaesberg and candidate John Kerry.

The fact that she’s too young to vote didn’t faze her. “I consider myself a feminist, and he really, really wants to help women succeed in life, and that’s really rare these days,” Leanos says. She got to meet Dean, a former governor of Vermont, three times while working in New Hampshire and says “he’s a really great guy.”

The students’ campaign choices reflected the New Hampshire electorate, with Kerry and Dean winning over the greatest number of students, followed by Gen. Wesley Clark and U.S. Sen. John Edwards. A handful worked for U.S. Rep. Dennis Kucinich, but all of U.S. Sen. Joe Lieberman’s group jumped ship after his poor showing in the Iowa caucuses. Some wanted to work for the Rev. Al Sharpton, but he didn’t have a political office in that state. And a few decided they’d rather work for the campaign to re-elect President Bush. Those teens were invited to hear former New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani and Sen. John McCain.

With their red “Mikva Challenge” hats, the students quickly became known around the small Manchester community as “the Chicago kids.” They stayed at the same budget hotel near the airport as Kerry and his campaign staff, and got to rub elbows with the candidate, as well as former U.S. Sen. Gary Hart, singer

Carole King and other celebrities. Several got to help the Clark campaign film a television commercial. As of mid-February, they were still turning up on TV in CNN’s file footage of the primary, says Brian Brady, executive director of the Mikva Challenge.

The students don’t get academic credit for the program, but some use it to fulfill their school’s community service requirement. “We’re not coming at this straight from the cognitive level, we’re not lecturing to these kids,” says Brady, who believes politics unfairly gets a bad rap from those who have become cynical. “We’re trying to capture their spirit.”

On a more basic level, they’re also seeing there’s a larger world beyond their neighborhood. Brady relates the story of a boy from Chicago’s North Lawndale neighborhood who went to New Hampshire. “He said, ‘I love it out here, I love it. I don’t have to watch my back out here.’”

Dean finished a distant second in New Hampshire, but that’s not going to dampen Elisabeth Leanos’ political spirits. She plans to work for state Sen. Barack Obama’s campaign for U.S. Senate. She also says she wants to attend law school and stay active in politics. “We have to spread the word.”

Stephanie Zimmermann
Chicago Sun-Times

LEGI CHECKLIST

The state budget and the structure of the state's system for elementary and secondary education will be the top issues this session. Still, lawmakers have introduced a record number of bills since last year. This session, representatives proposed 2,515 new laws. Senators proposed 948. Here is a sample.

Obesity

Public schools wouldn't be allowed to sell soft drinks to students or provide vending machines that do. Schools that violate the ban would face a fine totaling 5 percent of their state aid. The measure is sponsored by Sen. Debbie DeFrancesco Halvorson, a Crete Democrat.

A series of measures aimed at promoting awareness about nutrition for children was introduced.

Health insurance

Small businesses could benefit from a measure designed to help companies shop for the lowest-cost health insurance coverage for their employees. Rep. Naomi Jakobsson, an Urbana Democrat, is sponsoring a measure to require insurance companies to disclose annual costs of coverage and the types of claims paid. Jakobsson says insurance companies don't currently have to reveal how they set their rates. She says businesses employing about 100 workers would benefit from the change.

Under the proposal, the information could not be used for any reason other than choosing a health care plan, but the Illinois Association of Health Plans has raised privacy concerns.

Sen. Rick Winkel, a Champaign Republican, introduced a similar measure.

Insurance companies also could be required to get approval from the state if they want to increase their rates by more than 10 percent under legislation introduced by Sen. Susan Garrett, a Lake Forest Democrat.

Medical malpractice

Physicians would receive protection from high-cost malpractice lawsuits under a package of measures sponsored by Republican Sen. Kirk Dillard of

Hinsdale and House Republican Leader Tom Cross of Oswego. The two also think physicians should receive dollars through state grants to cover malpractice insurance costs.

The proposals lack a provision that would set caps on malpractice awards, but Cross and Dillard say they might reintroduce such a proposal in the future. The Illinois Supreme Court twice ruled caps unconstitutional.

Some lawmakers want to add a medical malpractice provision to the Illinois Constitution. Sen. William Haine, an Alton Democrat, is sponsoring such a proposal.

Prescription drugs

All drug manufacturers who sell medication in Illinois would have to tell the Department of Public Health about perks health care providers receive for prescribing or selling their drugs under a measure sponsored by Rep. Jack Franks, a Woodstock Democrat. Exceptions would include gifts that cost less than \$25, free samples, payments in connection with verified research and scholarships for medical students.

The public health agency would regulate the system and would report to the General Assembly. Sen. Barack Obama, a Chicago Democrat, introduced a similar measure in the Senate.

Meth

Parents who possess ingredients to produce methamphetamine in the presence of their children could be charged with child abuse under a measure that is working its way through the Senate.

In a separate proposal, people who possess ingredients to produce meth could be charged with a Class X felony, which carries a stiff sentence.

Meth is a stimulant made from common household chemicals and over-the-counter cold or asthma medication. Currently, the Class X felony covers intent to sell.

Gov. Rod Blagojevich initiated a program to fight illegal use of meth labs and Ecstasy. The \$2.5 million Project X will target 18- to 25-year-olds and will combine the efforts of law enforcement, colleges and substance abuse treatment

providers. The project is funded through the Illinois Department of Human Services' division of alcohol and substance abuse.

Sex offenders

Illinoisans would be able to find out more about sex offenders on the Illinois State Police Sex Offender Web site under a measure sponsored by Sen. Dave Syverson, a Rockford Republican. Syverson says he wants the site to include a sex offender's name, date of birth, address, physical characteristics such as weight and height, and the definition of the crime committed.

Currently, the public can see offenders' names, addresses and photos on that site. Attorney General Lisa Madigan has announced a change in the system that will allow the public to know more specific and timely information about sex offenders, including their criminal histories.

Gun control

A person who uses a handgun in self-defense could do so without breaking the law, even in a town that bans handguns, according to a Senate committee. The measure sponsored by Sen. Ed Petka, a Plainfield Republican, will be considered further by the full Senate.

Gambling

A proposal to add slot machines at horse-racing tracks, legalize video poker in taverns and authorize a casino license for Chicago city government has been revived. Lawmakers advanced that plan last year, but Blagojevich pulled the plug.

Rep. Lou Lang, a Skokie Democrat, estimates the state would make \$1.16 billion to \$2.35 billion in 2005 and annual revenues of \$989 million to \$1.7 billion. Sen. Denny Jacobs, an East Moline Democrat, also backs the proposal.

Blagojevich and Senate President Emil Jones have said they oppose the legalization of payouts on video poker machines.

Lang's plan also would decrease the taxes riverboat casinos pay on their profits.

Bethany Carson

REPORT

Where do citizens get campaign news?

An increasing percentage of Americans regularly get their political information from the Internet and the cable news networks. The survey on where Americans learn about candidates and campaigns was conducted by the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press.

The Internet constitutes a relatively small share of the political news universe, but that share increased from 9 percent in the 2000 election to 13 percent in this election. The share for cable news networks grew from 34 percent in 2000 to 38 percent.

Morning television shows, National Public Radio, talk radio and comedy television shows also gained ground.

The Pew Center surveyed 1,506 adults between December 19 and January 4. It found that while local television news and nightly network news remain dominant, the "fractionalized media environment has taken the heaviest toll" on these traditional news sources.

In 2000, for instance, 48 percent of respondents told the center they learn something about the candidates from local television news. In this cycle, 42 percent said they do. Nightly network news took the biggest hit. In 2000, 45 percent of respondents said they get their political information from that source. In this election, 35 percent said they do.

Though the survey shows that cable news networks such as CNN and Fox News have achieved only modest gains since 2000, slippage among other major news sources means that cable trails only local TV news as a regular source for campaign information. "In several key demographic categories — young people, college graduates and wealthy Americans," the survey shows, "cable is the leading source of election news."

At the same time, the Internet is now on par with such traditional outlets as public television broadcasts, Sunday morning news programs and the weekly news magazines.

Lawmakers join forces to pan feds' mercury rules

A consortium of Midwest states, including Illinois, is moving to impose controls on mercury emissions from industrial sources, despite a U.S. Environmental Protection Agency proposal that the chemical should no longer be regulated as a hazardous pollutant.

President George W. Bush's administration has been criticized by environmentalists for weakening the federal Clean Air Act by rewriting the rules governing emissions from coal-fired plants and other industrial sites. Those new rules already are the subject of a lawsuit joined by Illinois and 12 other states and the District of Columbia (see *Illinois Issues* July/August 2003). But legislation proposed in Illinois and other states would pave the way for state regulation of mercury emissions. State Rep. Karen May, a Highland Park Democrat, says lawmakers from the six participating Midwest states intentionally announced their mercury reduction proposals simultaneously on February 4th: "We wanted to send a message to Washington."

May was one of five legislators from Illinois who attended the meetings of the National Caucus of Environmental Legislators, a bipartisan group. The Washington, D.C.-based organization has 266 members who serve in the state legislatures of every state except South Dakota.

Supporters of the states' move believe the strongest argument for mercury restrictions comes from federal regulators themselves. The U.S. environmental agency recently doubled estimates of the number of infants who are exposed to toxic levels of mercury each year. Mercury impedes normal neurological development in infants, and may be linked to the rising incidence of autism. And one in six, or 630,000 of the 4 million babies born each year, according to the federal agency, are likely to have concentrations of mercury in their bloodstreams that exceed the level considered safe.

The Illinois legislation would regulate disposal of products that contain mercury and limit the sale or distribution of any such product in the state without written notification of the Illinois Environmental Protection Agency. The state already bans the sale of mercury thermometers. The Illinois Environmental Protection Agency also is studying mercury emissions from coal-fired power plants, which may lead to other legislative proposals.

Joseph Andrew Carrier

INDICTMENTS

Safe Road still rolling

Federal prosecutors' Operation Safe Road probe has extended to the Metropolitan Pier and Exposition Authority, resulting in the indictments of a prominent lobbyist's firm and that firm's former vice president.

The U.S. attorney's office alleges that Al Ronan's Chicago-based firm, Ronan Potts LLC, and its former vice president, Julie Starsiak of Chicago, participated in a scheme to steer an \$11.5 million contract to a construction management firm hired to supervise the \$800 million expansion of McCormick Place in Chicago.

Former authority chief Scott Fawell, who is serving six and one-half years on a previous Safe Road racketeering conspiracy conviction, also was indicted. Fawell headed the authority when the contract was issued. Also indicted were Andrea Coutretsis of Long Grove, Fawell's former assistant, and two employees of Jacobs Facilities Inc., the St. Louis construction management firm hired to supervise the expansion.

Jacobs also is a client of Ronan Potts, which was charged with mail fraud and wire fraud. Starsiak, the principle negotiator on the bid, was granted immunity outside the charge of making false statements. The indictment also alleged that Fawell used authority funds to grant bogus contracts and favors to vendors. Coutretsis was charged with mail fraud and wire fraud.

Prosecutors allege that Jacobs' employees used inside information provided from Fawell and Coutretsis through Starsiak to reduce their initial bid on the expansion project from \$18.8 million to \$11.5 million.

OTTERS AND FALCONS AND SEDGE

Endangered species are on the rebound

Photograph by Jack Stevens



River otters are among the Illinois species that are in recovery.

After years of decline, many of Illinois' threatened and endangered species are beginning to make a comeback. Among them are the Peregrine falcon, which has adapted to city life by nesting on the ledges of tall buildings in Chicago, and the river otter, which has responded well to reintroduction in the state's rivers.

The list of the state's endangered and threatened species gets its mandatory five-year update this spring. There will be a few additions. Currently, the list consists of 478 plants and animals. With the changes proposed by the monitoring board, it would grow slightly to 482 species: 339 plants and 143 animals.

Still, there is some good news.

The otters, which were purchased from a breeder in Louisiana and released in several tributaries of the Illinois river system, are now thriving. That species is expected to be removed from the list this spring.

Bob Bluett, a biologist with the Illinois Department of Natural Resources, headed that project. He says the successful reintroduction points to the importance of such conservation legislation as the federal Clean Water Act, which for the last 30 years has protected the wetland areas the otter calls home, and recent provisions in federal agriculture law that reward farmers for creating buffer strips near sensitive watersheds.

"It is encouraging that we were able to restore the river otter," Bluett says, "because we had to improve a lot of conditions in the area of wetlands habitat and water quality before that could

happen. We see the river otter as a symbol of some of those successes."

The otter helped itself, too, by adapting to urban environments far better than expected.

The poster child for urban adaptation, though, is the Peregrine falcon. Nearly eliminated from the state at one point, the bird's status is expected to be changed from endangered to threatened, in large part because of adaptation to the urban habitat of downtown Chicago. These powerful raptors, which normally nest in cliff faces, have begun to make themselves comfortable among the skyscrapers of the city.

The falcons have been clocked at 217 miles per hour during dives, a feeding technique they use to ambush other birds, such as pigeons, in flight. As anyone frequenting the Loop can attest, food shortages will not be a problem for the feisty birds.

It's good news for some species to be added to the list, too. This may be the case for *Carex cumulata*, a sedge species once thought to be extirpated from the state. The species was proposed as an addition to the endangered list when three small populations were found in Iroquois and Kankakee counties.

Board member and natural resources botanist John Ebinger says cases like this are indicative of improvements in species monitoring techniques. He says worldwide radio navigation technology has helped track the location of isolated populations, as has an increase in participation by amateur biologists.

Joseph Andrew Carrier

MORE PROPOSED CHANGES

- *Canis lupus*, or the timber wolf, was added when the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service determined that Illinois fell within the eastern population sector, where all wolves are classified as threatened. Species native to Illinois are automatically included on the state list when they are on the federal list.
- *Elaphe guttata emoryi*, or the great plains ratsnake, hasn't been seen much in recent years, prompting a proposal to change that species' status from threatened to endangered. Mortality from motor vehicles seems to be the greatest factor for this species, which likes to sun itself on warm blacktop.
- *Dendroica cerulea*, or the cerulean warbler, has been declining in recent years due to fragmentation of the birds' preferred nesting sites. This has prompted a motion to add it to the threatened list. The little songsters require the presence of large trees for nesting.
- *Flathead chub*, *bluehead shiner*, *rayed bean*, and *pyramid pigtoe* are among those species believed to have been extirpated from the state. It has been proposed that they be removed from the list.
- *Ammodramus henslowii*, or Henslow's sparrow, has made a dramatic recovery because of a large increase in its available habitat. That habitat was created mainly through the Conservation Reserve Program, which reimburses farmers for enacting approved conservation measures on frequently flooded or environmentally sensitive land along the Illinois River and its tributaries. Though populations continue to increase, they remain unstable, and the species will remain on the list as threatened because many of the original conservation reserve contracts are set to expire.

Joseph Andrew Carrier

ILLINOIS' WINE INDUSTRY

Investment threatens to wither on the vine

Without new funding, the state's investment in a test vineyard and a wine-tasting lab will literally dry up.

Illinois' wine industry has grown to be the eighth-most productive in the nation, but the state council that provides technical support and marketing to that sector has been axed. Unless the state restores dollars, the Illinois Grape and Wine Resources Council will shut down June 30. And the repercussions could extend further than a handful of small business owners who make wine.

The loss of state funding threatens two projects initiated by the council. Nearly \$1 million was invested in a test vineyard at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale and a wine tasting laboratory at the University of Illinois in Urbana-Champaign. The U of I program will end in June, but SIU is trying to maintain the vineyard, which is just about to bear fruit — in grapes and data.

"It will depend quite a bit on what total funding for higher education is this year," says Robert Arthur, interim dean of the College of Agricultural Sciences at SIU. "If we don't have to take significant cuts this year, hopefully we'll be able to maintain it."

Brad Taylor, an associate professor and fruit crop specialist at that university, manages the vineyard, which tests new varieties of grapes for suitability to the region and for commercial applications. He says the project is at a critical stage because the grapevines planted in 1999 just bore in 2003 the first full fruit crop useful for study.

However, the project already lost the council-funded state viticulturist Imed Dami, the grape-growing expert who designed the vineyard and the testing program. Funding for graduate assistants, research technicians and student workers who collect and analyze data will end in June.

Taylor says that team is running 15 experiments, and needs at least two more years for the data to be valid. The early results show they are producing, in some cases, yields 50 percent greater than what is typical for the region.



Southern Illinois University's test vineyard produced its first full crop in 2003. Early results from experiments show advances in varieties that yield more grapes and vines that can better tolerate the state's winter temperatures.

In addition, the researchers are identifying new varieties of table grapes adaptable to the region that could compete commercially with seedless grapes.

Taylor is looking to replace the council's \$500,000 annual funding with grant money.

The nonprofit grape and wine council was created in 1997 to aid the state's fledgling industry. Though third in the nation in grape growing prior to Prohibition in the 1930s, Illinois had but nine wineries at the time of the council's formation. By 2005, after 14 new wineries open this year, there will be 60 operations throughout the state producing an estimated 720,000 gallons and contributing more than \$60 million to the economy, with an additional \$20 million from tourism.

"It's just been incredible growth," says Karen Binder, the council's executive director and marketing specialist. "And everyone understands the value-added benefits of the industry. Not only do you have an agricultural product but you have an agritourism business; you have a business that can diversify a family farm. And it can function in a suburban, metropolitan or rural setting."

Paul Hahn's operation in rural Tazewell County is a good example.

Hahn farmed several hundred acres of corn and soybeans until he recently downsized to concentrate on his vineyard and open Hahn Family Winery last May. His dry red, Alexander's Conquest, won Best of Show at the Illinois State Fair.

"In the beginning, all of us start with a real need for any sort of knowledge," he says about novice vintners. "It was like we were starving for information."

All that changed, Hahn says, when the council was formed and hired grape and wine specialists. "Then they were the go-to guys to get answers," he says. "Who do I ask questions [of] now that all my specialists are gone?"

Betty Logan says she will miss the statewide marketing campaign that gave her winery a larger audience. Logan and her husband own Baxter's Vineyards in Nauvoo, the oldest winery in the state. Founded in 1857 and run by the Logans since 1987, Baxter's is one of the smaller operations.

The state's extension program through the university system is not an adequate substitute for the specialized expertise needed for grape growing and wine making, says Hahn. "There is a difference between peaches and grapes."

Beverley Scobell

SPOTLIGHT

The governor's new deputy for education

Brenda Holmes may hold the key to this legislative session. As Gov. Rod Blagojevich's education point person, she's charged with marshaling the administration's controversial plan to create a new education department through the legislature.

It won't be easy. But Holmes shouldn't have to brush up on school policy, bureaucratic structure or legislative process. She has, as former Gov. Jim Edgar notes, the perfect resume for the position.

Holmes has experienced public education policy from every angle. She taught high school for 13 years. For another five, she analyzed education policy as a legislative staffer. She spent yet another 13 answering lawmakers' questions as the key legislative liaison for the State Board of Education. Next she lobbied policymakers on behalf of a school administrators' group. "That's just invaluable," says Edgar, "particularly for an administration that does not have that much experience in state government."

Though Edgar never worked with Holmes, he grew up and attended high school with her in Charleston. A Republican, he remembers her as Brenda Porter, a Democrat. He says they had many political discussions, having both come from politically involved families. "She was one of the few girls to talk about politics." And she was student council president.

"I wasn't surprised when she ended up in Springfield."

Now in the governor's office, Holmes says her main focus since August has been to help draft a new state education plan. In January, Blagojevich proposed creating a Department of Education that would supplant administrative responsibilities of the independent state education board created by the 1970 Illinois Constitution. Holmes says though this wasn't her idea, she agrees with the proposal to make the governor directly responsible for public education.

"Certainly, there is nothing more political, and partisan, than education," she says. "And one thing about the political system is that you try an experiment, but then at some point you need to re-evaluate the experiment to see if it's working. I don't



Brenda Holmes

think the current process is working."

With a network of contacts in her back pocket, her priority through this spring's legislative session, she says, will be to ensure that the plan passes. "People are talking about, 'Gee, you need an independent body to make determinations from the curriculum, to the testing system, to financing public education.' The reality is, the General Assembly is the school board of all school boards. They will determine all of those things."

Holmes gained insight on the General Assembly's process of approving education reform bills after enrolling in the Legislative Staff Internship Program at the University of Illinois at Springfield. In 1983, she interned with the late Sen. John Maitland Jr., Republican spokesman for the Elementary and Secondary Education Committee. She analyzed bills, letting senators know who wanted them approved and why.

At the same time, she gained an ability to communicate with a wide range of education interests, says Kent Redfield, a political science professor who was director of the internship program at the time.

"When she was on staff, she was dealing with manufacturers. At the same time, the business community became more and more interested in education because of its effect on the job pool," Redfield says. "It's a huge advantage to deal with these groups, having dealt with them in the past, or having direct interaction with each."

She viewed firsthand the creation of the state's teacher evaluation requirements and

the state testing system approved by former Gov. Jim Thompson. "That proved to be a very interesting experience," she says, "particularly as I moved from the legislature over to the state board where they were actually implementing it."

Robert Leininger recruited her to the state board in 1987, when she says the board and legislators worked closely in researching, drafting and implementing policy. She knew she wanted change when Leininger left the board, she says. She left in 2000 to lobby for the Illinois Statewide School Management Alliance.

She says she had sensed an atmosphere of fear. The board, she says, considers someone disloyal for suggesting change. "If anything, loyalty is extremely important to me, but above loyalty, integrity is more important to me."

Now on the policymaking side, Holmes will oversee elementary and secondary education for the governor, as well as the state's four-year public universities and the student assistance program. "As a person who spent 20 years in the legislative process, being a part of the executive branch is very interesting." *Bethany Carson*



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PRESSBOX

The *Chicago Sun-Times* was first to report Gov. Rod Blagojevich's administration has signed off on a \$200 million deal with a major French bank to mortgage the James R. Thompson Center. The deal with Paris-based Societe Generale requires the state to pay \$14 million annually over a decade and then pay the mortgage off or refinance the balance, wrote *Sun-Times* reporters Dave McKinney and David Roeder, citing sources familiar with the transaction. Under the terms of the agreement, the state will not have to move its offices out of the 17-story Helmut Jahn-designed building in Chicago.

Blagojevich first discussed selling the Thompson Center last year to address a \$5 billion budget gap.

The state is expected to pay a fixed interest rate of about 5 percent and "at \$200 million, the mortgage reflects the low end of what real estate experts have estimated as the building's value — placed at \$200 million to \$300 million." The deal was brokered by Chicago-based LaSalle Bank for a \$1.5 million commission.

The *News-Gazette* of Champaign reported the state's employee retirement systems earned "dramatically higher returns" by defying state Budget Director John Filan's request that the proceeds from a \$10 billion pension bond sale be put only into conservative fixed-rate investments such as bonds or treasury bills. The five systems for retired state and university workers, lawmakers, judges and downstate teachers decided to stick to their usual investment strategies.

"In the first six months, we have

earned \$507 million, which is an 11.7 percent return," Jon Bauman, executive director of the Teacher's Retirement System, told the *News-Gazette*. "If it had been all in short-term bonds over the six months, that would have returned about 1.2 percent." This amounted to a difference of about \$450 million, Bauman said.

Some of the dollars generated by the state's massive bond sale were used to cover the state's required pension contributions to all five systems last fiscal year and the one ending this June. The move freed up money to help fill the state's budget gap. The rest of the proceeds were distributed last summer to the pension systems for investing. Gov. Rod Blagojevich is counting on those investment returns to cover the cost of the bonds plus interest.

In a series of meetings last June, reporter Kate Clements wrote, Filan urged the heads of the state pension systems to change their investment strategies to limit short-term risk. The advice was "absolutely" the right thing to do at the time, Becky Carroll, the Office of Management and Budget spokeswoman, told the *News-Gazette*. "We said be conservative, knowing that the only thing we know right now is that there is uncertainty in both our economy and economies throughout the world."

The decision to ignore the advice has paid off so far. "I think what it says is that long-term investors are always well served by investing for the long term," Bauman told the *News-Gazette*. "This was an extraordinarily strong six months in the market, no doubt. We just have to be mindful that this was an exceptional period and in any given market cycle things can turn quickly,

and that's why we always invest for the long term and not try to time the market."

The *Chicago Tribune* reported that an increasing number of stores are restricting access to common cold, sinus and allergy remedies that contain ingredients of methamphetamine.

Reporter Molly Parker wrote that Walgreens, Dominick's, Jewel-Osco, Wal-Mart and CVS Pharmacy are among the large chains that now limit the quantity a shopper can buy at one time. Some retailers also have allowed individual stores to move the remedies off open shelves and put them behind service counters. These moves are aimed at cracking down on thefts of such products as Sudafed, Actifed and Dimetapp, the *Tribune* reported, as well as helping law enforcement in the fight against the growing meth trade. The key ingredient the illegal meth manufacturing labs have been extracting from over-the-counter drugs is the stimulant pseudoephedrine.

Under voluntary programs, big chains in Illinois have limited sales of cold and allergy tablets containing pseudoephedrine to three packages per customer. But, according to the *Tribune*, Illinois Attorney General Lisa Madigan plans to seek legislation that would impose mandatory limits.

Big pharmaceutical companies have expressed reservations about the restrictions. "Putting them behind the counter really hurts access of consumers to the product," Pfizer spokesman Jay Kosminsky said. Nevertheless, Arkansas, California, Missouri, Oregon and Washington are among states that have clamped down on sales.

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QUOTABLE

“They all should be sent to the principal’s office.”

State Sen. Miguel del Valle, a Chicago Democrat, to the Chicago Tribune in response to the noisy battle between the governor's office and the State Board of Education over control of education policy.

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Global classroom

Educators search for new ways to teach
Illinois' increasingly diverse school population



Students at Kreitner Elementary School in Collinsville hear two sets of morning announcements: one in English and one in Spanish.

There's a practical reason for this. Latinos account for about half of Kreitner's student body. Some 225 of the 425 students in that Metro East school are or have been enrolled in special classes designed to teach them English. And, on average, one new student joins those classes each week, says Jean Craft, the school district's English as a Second Language coordinator. Students who speak Korean, Vietnamese and Russian are moving to the Collinsville area, too. But most of the new immigrants speak Spanish. "The trend is just increasing."

And so are the challenges for schools in that region. Collinsville Unit District 10 has had to explore new ways to educate this changing student body. Kreitner's bilingual announcements, for instance, are aimed at integrating Spanish-speaking and English-speaking students.

It's a baby step, says Joan Friedenberg, a linguistic professor who studies bilingual education at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale. While Friedenberg might give Kreitner an A for effort, she promotes a more extensive program for integrating language and culture in Illinois schools. Rather than preparing Spanish-speaking students to enter English-only classrooms, or keeping them segregated in bilingual classes, Friedenberg believes schools should be teaching all subjects to all students in both English and Spanish.

That would be a big step for Kreitner, and for the Collinsville district, which must marshal resources just to teach English to a growing number of students from immigrant families. One teacher and three aides are available to teach English to Spanish-speaking students, according to Kreitner Principal David Stroot. It's enough for now. But the need is growing. In 2001, 5.4 percent of the district's 5,900 students were Latino. Last year, the percentage had risen to 7.1 percent of the district's 6,038 students.

Collinsville isn't alone in facing this challenge. Illinois' immigrant population, primarily its Latino population, is growing throughout the state, putting added pressure on schools to fulfill their responsibility to educate Illinois' increasingly diverse population.

School officials can't afford to ignore the math. Some schools near Chicago, as well as those in the Metro East region across from St. Louis, now serve communities where half of the residents speak Spanish. Statewide, Latinos account for about 16 percent of public school enrollment. And the number of Illinois students who need help understanding English is growing. It jumped by 95 percent in the decade between 1992 and 2002, according to the U.S. Department of Education. Those students are not all Latino, but the Illinois State Board of Education reported in 2002 that 78 percent of bilingual students speak Spanish as a first language. Most of them are in the lower grades. About 87 percent are enrolled in kindergarten through eighth grade.

But these young students and their families are increasingly emigrating to smaller communities. Though Chicago, historically a destination for immigrants, accounts for about half of the state's total number of bilingual students, more students are enrolled in bilingual programs in that city's suburbs — 77,995 as compared to 65,536 — according to the state board.

Among the five counties surrounding Chicago, McHenry County, along the state's northern border, experienced the highest growth in Latino population between 1990 and 2000. Harvard is key to that growth. Thirty-eight percent of that community's 8,000 residents are Latino. The number of Latino students enrolled in Harvard's schools is going up, too. Between 2001 and 2003, the student population of Harvard Unit School District 50 increased from 2,258 to 2,368, but the proportion of Latino students rose from 35 percent to 42 percent. About 400 students need bilingual training, says Sue Smith, that district's assistant

superintendent. "We have about 50 who do not speak any English."

Three hundred miles south of Harvard, Fairmont City near East St. Louis faces a similar change. Fifty-five percent of Fairmont City's 2,436 residents are Latino. Some of them send their children to learn English in the Collinsville district.

Even farther south in Union County, tiny Cobden with 1,100 residents is now about 13 percent Latino. That community's Latino students are unevenly spread between its schools. About 13 percent of the students in the high school are Latino. But about 26 percent of the students in the elementary school are.

Like Harvard, Cobden, known for its apple and peach orchards, draws migrant workers. But Superintendent Dave Pierson of Cobden Unit School District 17 says that, while the migrant population has held steady, the permanent Latino population has grown.

Harvard Assistant Superintendent Smith says this trend rings true for her district, too. Instead of moving for seasonal work in the vegetable fields or the pickle factory, migrants are finding affordable housing and settling in that small farming community known as the "Milk Capital of the World."

Once the former migrants find jobs, they spread the word to friends and family in their hometowns, says Ernesto Felce, who teaches English as a Second Language classes to Harvard's junior high schoolers. He says a number of the community's Latino residents emigrated from the same area outside of Mexico City and plan to stay in Harvard as long as they have jobs.

This demographic shift in Harvard, Cobden and other communities that have traditionally drawn a mostly migratory Latino population means the schools must tackle a range of new challenges beyond serving more Latino students who need more help. Administrators and teachers also must increasingly navigate cultural differences that sometimes hinder learning and cultural tensions that can disrupt classrooms. It's not stretching the point too far to say they must figure out how to transform the traditional schoolhouse



— and sometimes the community beyond the schoolhouse.

Educators have no choice but to try. State law requires any school that has more than 20 students who speak a first language other than English to provide an opportunity for those students to be instructed in their native language. Though Spanish is the most prevalent native language for non-English-speaking students in the Collinsville area, Kreitner's Principal Stroot says more than 10 languages are spoken in that district alone.

While the state does provide financial help to districts, local officials say those grants often don't cover the costs of the state-mandated programs. In Collinsville, for instance, children who need help understanding English receive about three hours of instruction a week. Last year, the state awarded that district \$56,815 for its bilingual program. The cost of teachers' salaries and materials for the program were \$151,867, meaning the district had to pay the difference, according to Craft, the bilingual coordinator. The federal government awarded another \$122 for each student in the program, but those dollars were designated for "concrete new things to help children not be left behind," Craft says, not teachers' salaries.

Harvard, with its 16 bilingual and English as a Second Language teachers, received \$207,303 from the state for bilingual programs this school year, according to the state board. The federal government pitched in another \$63,900, which breaks down to \$122 for each of the 524 students participating in the program. The sum of these government grants doesn't cover program costs, says that district's Assistant Superintendent Smith.

But Brenda Holmes, Gov. Rod Blagojevich's new deputy chief of staff for education, argues the issue isn't funding, but inefficiency at the state level. Many state agencies, she says, offer programs for minority students that could be consolidated into one program. For example, one state agency targets rising dropout rates among Hispanic and African-American students. At the same time, the state board has its own program aimed at ensuring that students attend class. That program provides counseling, transportation, childcare,

or summer school and evening classes. Latino students accounted for about 3,800, or 14 percent, of the participants, according to a board report published last year.

"All of these programs are available and should be coordinated specifically to help Hispanic students, as well as everybody else," Holmes says. "It's time to take a look and see how we can focus the resources we already have into programs that are actually going to work."

Meanwhile, the state requires schools to instruct Spanish-speaking students in bilingual classes until they can pass tests in reading, writing and oral skills, indicating they are ready to take classes alongside English-speaking students.

While local school officials support that ideal, some say it's tough to accomplish. Immigrant students' educational backgrounds sometimes hinder their grasp of the English language. "It's hard because the schooling they come with is very low, very limited," Harvard's Felce says. "Their Spanish is not very good, either. And that makes it more difficult to learn English."

And language barriers are not limited to the classroom. "Their parents don't speak English and their parents don't have any schooling," Felce says.

This has led Harvard school officials to reach out to students' families. Harvard district Superintendent Randy Gross says Spanish-speaking parents often attend English as a Second Language night classes at the community college. Some Spanish-speaking residents have reached out to help immigrants adjust, too. And churches have built networks to help with such problems as filing taxes.

Smith leads a parent group of about 25 people. The goal, she says, is to teach these adults English as fast as possible so they can participate in a society where English is the dominant language. But, she adds, preserving their culture is important. "We retain certain things so that everyone is proud of their nationality."

In fact, state law requires school districts that have bilingual programs to encourage parental involvement through advisory committees. These committees, according to the state board, must plan and evaluate the schools' programs.

Gross says one Latino parent in Smith's group has requested information about running for school board. "They're beginning to understand that it's important to get involved in the politics of schools and local government," he says.

Part of Collinsville's bilingual program, too, is directed at parents. That district helps parents make the connections necessary to obtain a social security card, say, or a driver's license. It's this network, Stroot says, that attracts more Latino families to the Collinsville area, making them feel comfortable enough to stay.

"You have to build up a trust network," he says. That network includes school employees, such as teachers, nurses and social workers, as well as representatives of churches and community organizations. "Once that's established, then the trust grows ... working with the students becomes much more effective." Stroot says community awareness has enabled this network to expand to include financial and legal assistance.

"It's a combination of a lot of things: Getting the word out that we're willing to make a difference in the lives of people," Stroot says. "It's a sharing of whatever we've got that will help us go for the common good of the students."

Not everyone, though, agrees on what's good for students. Stroot says there has been some community resistance to changes aimed at accommodating Spanish-speaking students.

Yet community support, including financial backing, is critical to the success of these efforts, and those in Cobden and Harvard.

That's proven to be a high hurdle for Harvard. Local referendums to build a larger school have failed in the last three years, Superintendent Gross says. Another referendum this month will ask residents to agree to higher taxes for general education programs, some of which will help bilingual or English as a Second Language programs.

Teacher Felce says perceptions of Latino immigrants affect the outcome of these referendums. "Some of them don't want to pay higher taxes because they say, 'Well, that's only for Hispanic students.'"

The legal status of the migrant families also affects their role in the community. "Part of it is that many

of our residents, meaning Hispanic residents, are not registered as citizens," Gross says. As a result, he says, "Latino parents are seen as not caring. But that's not the case. They do care. They do care a lot about education because they see that as an avenue to really progress in this country."

Change here, too, is inevitable. The migrant families who establish permanent homes in Illinois are now raising American-born children. Gross says, "The ones born in America are more likely to get involved in extracurricular activities."

But Harvard and other Illinois schools are exploring ways to prepare for the future now. The dominant strategy has been to mainstream Spanish-speaking students into English-only classrooms. But some think that approach is due for an overhaul.

Friedenberg of SIU argues for redefining the mainstream. She trains teachers in two-way instruction, meaning all teachers and all students would be bilingual. Cobden bilingual teacher Mayra Taylor took some of Friedenbergs classes. She says her district has taken small steps toward that approach. For example, the district sends notes home to parents in Spanish and English, as do many districts around the state. But the Spanish-speaking students still learn in English half of the day and Spanish the other half.

Friedenberg cautions against this strategy. She says the students should not be separated from regular classrooms. After being introduced to the idea two years ago, however, Cobden decided that community isn't ready for full integration, Taylor says. And not for fiscal reasons. "The support from the community is what really makes or breaks the program. I guess things just move slowly."

But if people like Friedenbergs persist, Taylor adds, then communities might eventually accept the belief that a bilingual community has its advantages. "Little by little, I think, we can create a climate that would be a right one for such a program."

And that's the idea behind Kreitner's bilingual morning announcements. □



Forgotten canon

Great Illinois books are not read
because they are hard to find, and they are hard
to find because so few people read them

Essay by James Krohe Jr.

Twenty-two years ago, critic and teacher Robert Bray asked an interesting question in his book, *Rediscoveries: Literature and Place in Illinois*. "The creation of a culture at any time and for any society requires its re-creation from the materials of the past," wrote Bray, now the Colwell Professor of American Literature at Illinois Wesleyan University in Bloomington. "And that act of re-creation, the search for a 'usable past'... ought to be as ongoing and as serious as anything we do."

4 Book Library, porcelain by Ruth Weiner, courtesy of the state's Art-in-Architecture program



Indeed it ought; often the best way to see one's way forward is to look backward. The materials from which to fashion a usable past reside in old buildings, in native landscapes, in the recollections of elders and — perhaps the richest trove of all — in the books in which Illinois places and people figure. But, asked Bray, "Can the ethos of a state or region or nation be adequately understood if a considerable segment of its literature, though no more than a century removed in time, goes almost entirely unread?"

Are the great works of Illinois literature really moldering away unread? An answer must be inferred. Libraries, for example, do not release data about the circulation of individual titles. Certainly, the Illinois classics aren't much talked about. Floyd Dell, the bohemian book review editor and central figure in the Chicago Renaissance, probably comes up at parties less often than the Icelandic sagas. Robert Herrick is reckoned by some to have been the first novelist to explain Chicago to a disbelieving world; yet he has been mentioned but three or four times in nearly 20 years by the *Chicago Tribune*. His contemporary Elia Peattie was not Chicago's first female novelist, but she was the first good one, and she usually is recalled in the popular press only to mention how forgotten she is.

Illinois classics used to appear often on high school reading lists. The horrors of life in Packingtown as depicted in Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* left such an impression of Chicago on tens of thousands of downstate students that tourism traffic to that city was depressed for decades. Edgar Lee Masters' *Spoon River Anthology* is another favorite; the collection's poetic elegies to the dead are short (which recommended them to students) and simple (which recommended them to schoolteachers).

The presence of such works on school reading lists would seem to suggest their continued relevance. But students are an unwilling readership, and, in any event, school reading lists serve several agendas beyond nourishing the ethos of Illinois. What is true in the high schools

is even truer in the colleges. Eliza Farnham's true-life account of pioneering in the wilds of central Illinois, *Life in Prairie Land*, enjoys a vogue among teachers of college women's studies courses because of the author's gender.

Illinoisans over 18 are free to choose their own reading matter. A book that remains in bookstores is still being read, or at least being purchased. By that measure, a surprising amount of Illinois' 19th and early 20th century literature still has an audience. Carl Sandburg's *Chicago Poems* (you know, "big shoulders") and Masters' *Spoon River* have never gone out of print, and one can still find Studs Lonigan in the bookshops in various editions of the works of his creator, James T. Farrell, perhaps because this account of the life among the first urban underclass still resonates. *The Jungle* is still in print, as is the work of Finley Peter Dunne in various forms.

Here again, it would be a mistake to assume that classic Illinois books that are being read are being read for the light they shine on Illinois. Henry Blake Fuller's *Bertram Cope's Year*, a novel about a student that was set on the Evanston campus of Northwestern University, has found a new audience after more than 80 years. Its implicit homosexual theme caused publishers to reject it in 1919, but it is newly pertinent today. Jane Addams' account of pioneering in the wilds of the West Side of Chicago, *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, also owes much of its appeal to an author who, as a social reformer, social work pioneer, Nobel Peace Prize winner and woman attracts readers from several constituencies.

The commercial press is geared, naturally, toward titles that sell, and in addition to those required by school courses, titles that sell include those in demand by library acquisitions committees. *13th District, a Story of a Candidate* by Brand Whitlock has been reissued by Classic Textbooks. Reporter-reformer-writer Whitlock spent time in Springfield, and drew upon it and the General Assembly for material for two

Are the great works of Illinois literature really moldering away unread? An answer must be inferred. Libraries, for example, do not release data about the circulation of individual titles. Certainly, the Illinois classics aren't much talked about.



influential novels and several short stories around the turn of the 20th century. "The ever-present theme of politics in Whitlock's stories almost always had the smell of decay and corruption about it," wrote one biographer, "and many stories were specifically about that smell in Springfield." Folks are used to that smell in Springfield, but it apparently repels non-Springfieldians; the capital's public library is one of only three in the state that own a copy of the book.

Many of the state's classic books qualify as arcane, which happily makes them a fit subject for a university press. Many are in the public domain (dead authors come cheap) and, apart from new forewords, there are few editing costs. They may sell only a few copies per year, but they usually keep on selling for years. Southern Illinois University Press in Carbondale, for instance, publishes reprints of books on local lore, the Civil War, reminiscences and other topics that touch on life in deep southern Illinois, which it markets as the Shawnee Classics. Typical of the series are two recent titles: *Before Mark Twain: A Sampler of Old, Old Times on the Mississippi*, a 1968 compilation of reprints from diaries, newspapers and journals, and *Tales and Songs of Southern Illinois*, a folk history classic by SIU professor Charles Neely that was originally published in 1938.

At the other end of the state, Northern Illinois University Press in DeKalb has given us new editions of recent works that, while dating only from the 1940s, are already "classics," to the extent that term may be applied to works of merit that have been forgotten. One of them is *Midwest at Noon* by Graham Hutton, the other Herbert Asbury's history of the Chicago underworld, *Gem of the Prairie*. NIU Press still has in print the important addition it made in 1970 to the library of the curious student of Illinois — Clyde Walton's anthology of recorded history, *An Illinois Reader*.

The University of Illinois Press in Urbana-Champaign has come closest to producing what could be called a pleiade series of Illinois classics. Its

Prairie State Books consists of quality paperback editions of some 30 titles, in decent bindings and augmented with scholarly introductions (which, it must be said, often are more interesting than the books they introduce).

The U of I Press has cast its net wider than the Shawnee Classics, and includes works about Chicago and all parts of downstate. *Windy McPherson's Son*, Sherwood Anderson's first novel (one of many country-boy-comes-to-Chicago stories) is thus reborn, as are such varied works as Paul Angle's history of gang war in a southern Illinois county, *Bloody Williamson*, Black Hawk's autobiography, Farrell's *Chicago Stories* and Peattie's *The Precipice*, which recounts how a University of Chicago coed finds feminism in a settlement house. The U of I Press also occasionally brings out as part of its regular line of trade paperbacks new editions of such classic works as Milo Milton Quaife's *Chicago and the Old Northwest, 1673-1835: A Study of the Evolution of the Northwestern Frontier, Together With a History of Fort Dearborn*.

Much of what is in print from our more arcane authors, and lesser works on the known ones, survives thanks to the small presses. Vachel Lindsay has received special attention from the small press, perhaps because in Lindsay — a literary man who knew nothing about business — they see a kindred soul. *Tramping Across America: Travel Writings of Vachel Lindsay* was brought out by Springfield's Rosehill Press in 1999, following the example set in the 1980s by Peoria's Spoon River Poetry Press, which put out a comprehensive collection of his verse, *The Poetry of Vachel Lindsay*, in three volumes. Lindsay's reformist fantasy, *The Golden Book of Springfield*, was returned to the shelf after 70 years by Chicago's Charles H. Kerr Publishing Co. ("Subversive literature for the whole family since 1886.")

Illinois' famous authors, in fact, are pretty well served by the various arms of the publishing industry. Most of the editions described above came out since Bray published his lament in the

early 1980s. Back then, he found, many of these titles were out of print and could be obtained only through a library. Now we have the Internet, which makes it much easier for curious Illinoisans to track down used out-of-print books and copies of books in print that general-interest booksellers cannot find room for on their shelves.

Alas, many other Illinois writers of note have not fared well at the hands of the commercial press. Don Marquis was a novelist, playwright, poet and columnist whose characters were familiar to millions in the 1920s and 1930s, including archy the cockroach and mehitabel the cat. Critics of the day likened him to Twain and Mencken as a humorist and social critic. While archy and mehitabel stories remain in print (thanks, one assumes, to the eagerness of cat owners to buy anything that features felines), Marquis' novel *Sons of the Puritans*, in which the humorist recalled his hometown of Walnut in Bureau County as it was in the late 1800s, is all but impossible to find in Illinois libraries.

Marquis is not alone in his neglect. Robert Herrick's novels are out of print or hard to find. Donald Peattie's natural history of trees is still in print, but buying his two nature books based in Illinois — *Prairie Grove* and *Almanac for Moderns* — requires a search of the used book shops. The works of Hamlin Garland are out of print save for expensive library editions. One can find the name Ben Hecht on scattered titles in the bookstores, mainly his writing for and about Hollywood, but not *Gaily Gaily*, his rip-roaring memoir of newspapering in Chicago.

The curious Illinoisan whose appetites go beyond — we will not say above — the famous, the officially sanctioned or the controversial will have to repair to a local library. But they often are as bare of Illinois classics as the bookstores. A check of the Online Computer Library Center's massive WorldCat database (which catalogs the holdings of more than 700 Illinois libraries, including all of its larger public and academic collections) finds that John Hallwas' fine anthology,

Illinois Literature: The Nineteenth Century, is available in only one in four WorldCat libraries. Robert Coover's novel, *Origin of the Brumists*, is listed by only 43, including only one public library in West Frankfort in the deep southern part of the state where the story was set. Only six public libraries in Illinois own a copy of Marquis' *Sons of the Puritans*. Whitlock's *13th District*, as mentioned, is on the shelves of exactly three.

The paucity of Illinois literature in Illinois public libraries is proof of neither indifference nor illiteracy among our librarians. Most of the state's public libraries are small. Of the 624 public libraries in Illinois in 2001-02, 414 served towns of under 10,000 people; most school libraries serve even smaller populations. Taxpayer-supported institutions are obliged to spend most of their tax money on what most of the taxpayers want; they have limited space and scant budgets for what must be considered coterie books. The public library as presently conceived is a service agency whose job it is to circulate books, not a museum where literature is preserved and curated.

Sustaining the literary canon is, however, one of the jobs of the university library. Thanks to the interlibrary loan, the diligent reader can augment the skimpy collections of public libraries, one book at a time, by tapping into collections of colleges and universities. These tend to be both broader and deeper than all but the biggest public libraries can afford. Of the 109 libraries in Illinois that own at least one edition of Francis Grierson's fanciful memoir of Illinois in the Lincoln era, *Valley of Shadows*, 61 are part of a college or university. Of the 15 Illinois libraries of all types that own a copy of Marquis' *Sons of the Puritans*, nine are academic. Of the 21 Illinois libraries that keep Whitlock's *13th District* on the shelves, 17 are attached to a college or university.

People won't ask for a book unless they have heard of it. The state's cultural institutions have done good work in seeing to that. *Illinois! Illinois!* is a 2,233-item annotated bibliography

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of fiction about Illinois compiled by Thomas L. Kilpatrick and Patsy-Rose Hoshiko. They began their labors in 1971, and the first edition was published by Scarecrow Press in 1979. An updated and expanded online version is now posted on the Web, courtesy of Southern Illinois University Carbondale. In 1985, the state librarian's office published *A Reader's Guide to Illinois Literature* and distributed it free to all public and school libraries in Illinois. Contributors included such stewards of the canon as the University of Illinois' James Hurt, Western Illinois University's John Hallwas, Bray, Chicago State's Babette Inglehart and John Knoepfle of what is now the University of Illinois at Springfield. The guide is an invaluable tool for any teacher or librarian who wants to develop a course or a reading group using Illinois literature — as well as a *CliffsNotes* for journalists wishing to impress readers with having read more widely than they have.

The state's curriculum mavens have been busy, too. Illinois State University contrived "The Connections Project" funded by the Illinois State Board of Education. Aimed at high schoolers, the project proceeded from a Bray-ish premise: "As residents of Illinois, it is important to understand the history, settlement, and culture of the state." The planners chose as texts works by Ernest Hemingway and Sandburg (*Chicago*), as well as the life of Abraham Lincoln, "to give the students a good idea of the dense history and culture of Illinois."

Might the schools do more? There are many reasons to wish they will not. If few Illinoisans read for pleasure, it is partly because verse and fiction were forced on them as school texts. Schools that no longer ask kids to read Charles Dickens are not likely to introduce them to the likes of Joseph Kirkland in any event; schools that cannot teach kids to read are not likely to do a good job teaching them Edna Ferber.

Much Illinois literature is sneaked past unwitting students in the guise of social history. A case can be made — and several experts made it in 2000 in *Illinois History Teacher* — for such works as Black Hawk's autobiography,

Grierson's *The Valley of Shadows*, Addams' *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, Masters' *Spoon River Anthology* and Gwendolyn Brooks' *A Street in Bronzeville* as local history texts. But is it wise to surrender our literature to the sociologists, as one might give an old coat to the Salvation Army? Lorraine Hansberry's famous 1959 play, *Raisin in the Sun*, may be read as a treatise on the housing problem in the Depression-era Black Belt — but to read it only as that is a disservice to Hansberry — and, for that matter, the reader.

If the great Illinois books are not read because they are hard to find, it is equally true that they are hard to find because so few people wish to read them. There are a dozen reasons why this is so. Carl Smith, professor of English and American Studies at Northwestern University and author of *Chicago and the Literary Imagination 1880-1920*, says of his students, "It's out of fashion to read for the ethos of a place — students are suspicious of literature as a bearer of ideas because they've been taught that every author has an agenda."

Authors with agendas probably bother readers less than authors without skill. More than a couple of the books in the Illinois canon are there because they are by Illinoisans or about Illinois, not because they are great books. (Frank Norris' *The Pit* is a good, or rather a mediocre, example.) Bray argued in 1985 that *A Prairie Winter*, a diary of a woman living on a farm near Mokena in Will County that was published in 1903, has a similarity to a genre of cozy country books that includes such best-sellers as Yorkshire veterinarian James Herriot's *All Creatures Great and Small*. "If we are going to read such stuff — and we are — why not read our own?" he asked. One reason may be that while the farmers of the Illinois frontier era dwelt in a place as exotic to us now as the far-away Dales of Yorkshire, they aren't quite exotic enough to be entertaining.

An even bigger deterrent to taking up Illinois literature than the lack of skill among its authors is the lack of skill among our readers. Too many

readers are like the young person who found the vocabulary of Jane Addams' *Twenty Years at Hull-House* "a little difficult."

"This is a great autobiography," reported the reader in a review posted on the Web, "but not for beginners." The reviewer was almost 20 years old.

Bray has argued eloquently, if not quite persuasively, on behalf of Grierson's *The Valley of Shadows*. "I can think of no better book for teaching students the high emotional drama that the Illinois folk lived through in those crucial years of the rise of Abraham Lincoln just before the Civil War," he wrote in the aforementioned *Reader's Guide*. "I firmly believe that *The Valley of Shadows* should be read in history and literature classes all across the state, both high school and college."

Unfortunately, much of the dialect in which much of Grierson's book was written makes demands on even readers comfortable with printed English; to the high schooler to whom printed standard English looks like Sanskrit, it will be all but unintelligible.

If the prospect of learning about the ethos of Illinois does not drive people to the library, it may be because "Illinois" is mostly a political construct, not a social or cultural one. There is not much that is distinctive about Illinois these days, save its lack of distinctiveness. About the only people who think in statewide terms are politicians, intellectuals and cosmopolites.

To the extent that most other Illinoisans, including most of its writers, are aware of an ethos at all, it is a local one. Virtually none of the classic Illinois books are about "Illinois." Rather they are about places in Illinois. One can make a fair case that Chicago literature is distinct from Illinois literature — to the extent that Chicago is distinct from the rest of Illinois.

Marquis had something to say about life in every Illinois small town, yet they are but distinct cousins of the Chicago neighborhood. Lindsay brought Springfield alive, to the extent that was possible, and no one will think Galesburg is just another burg

who has read Earnest Elmo Calkins' history of it, *They Broke the Prairie*.

In no part of Illinois is regional identification stronger than in southern Illinois, and only in Chicago does so much of that identity owe to writing. The citizens of "Little Egypt" love to read about themselves, perhaps because no one else will, the rest of the state being unaware that there is any Illinois south of Collinsville. If literature sustains, indeed creates a regional ethos anywhere in Illinois, it is here. The SIU Press' Shawnee Classics series began about 10 years ago, following the example of Gordon Pruett, who had reissued such regional titles through his Crossfire Press before he joined SIU's staff. Since then, one new/old book usually comes out each fall. Twenty-two Shawnee Classics titles are still in print. They have sold well, by the standards of a university press, with several titles going through multiple printings. Jonathan Haupt, the marketing manager, explains why. "There is a fiercely loyal sense of heritage in southern Illinois, making an excellent audience for reprints of classic regional histories, especially tales of our heroes and antiheroes."

Of course, many a classic book with a local focus is being read as local history in the narrow sense. This frustrates Bray's larger hope to develop a usable past. If history tells about the past to explain something of the present, or even the future, antiquarianism extols the past because it tells about the past.

But is Bray's past even possible?

Increasingly, the Illinois classic seems local in terms of time as well as place. The Illinois described in the classic books doesn't exist — not just in the sense that anything past doesn't exist, but in the sense that there is little of the old Illinois that informs life in the present one. Even if Illinois books could inspire a love of Illinois, it might be unwise to try. If literature is poisoned by being turned into a history lesson, it is so much more so if it is turned into a civic lesson. □

James Krohe Jr., a veteran commentator on Illinois public issues, is writing a guide to the state's history and culture for the Illinois Humanities Council.

If the prospect of learning about the ethos of Illinois does not drive people to the library, it is partly because "Illinois" is mostly a political construct, not a social or cultural one. There is not much that is distinctive about Illinois these days, save its lack of distinctiveness.

Are we ready?

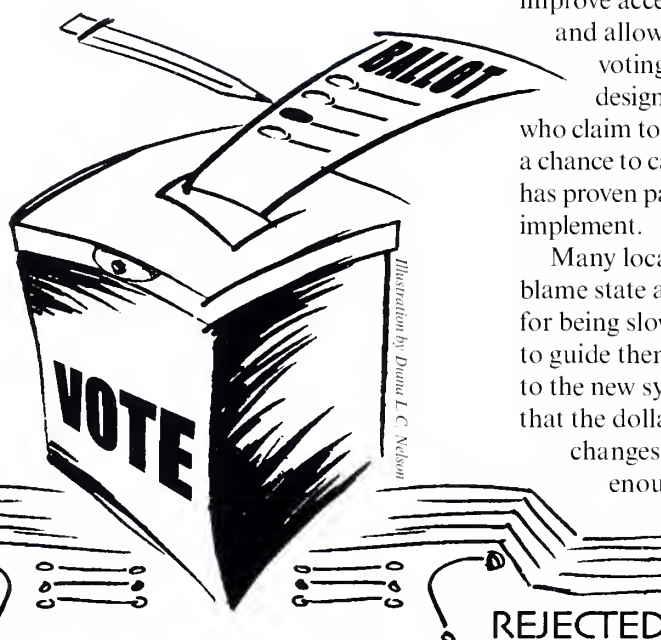
A minority of Illinois' voting jurisdictions have federally mandated election reforms in place for this month's primary

by Kurt Erickson

For months, Peggy Ann Milton lugged a computerized voting machine to every Rotary Club, Lions Club and Chamber of Commerce meeting she could find. It was her way, as McLean County's top election official, to educate voters about changes they'll see when they head into voting booths on the 16th. "I spent a lot of time at the county fair last summer just letting people test it out," she says. "I think it will pay off."

Though residents of McLean and some other Illinois counties will cast their ballots on a new, supposedly better, voting system this spring, that won't be the case for the vast majority of Illinoisans who turn out for the primary. About half of the state's election jurisdictions have dumped the familiar punch card voting system for the computerized style of ballot. The rest aren't ready for that move.

Technically, they were supposed to be. The federal Help America Vote Act, approved following the problems that surfaced with Florida's punch card ballots in the 2000 presidential election, was designed to push them in that direction. Two years after "pregnant chads" and "butterfly ballots" entered the national lexicon, Congress approved a plan to funnel



\$3.86 billion to the states over three fiscal years to help upgrade election systems.

Yet, despite this sweeping revamp of the nation's voting laws, the make-over in this state likely won't be completed for another two years. Illinois election officials won approval to delay full implementation until 2006, successfully arguing that many of the federal requirements are too complicated or too expensive to put in place before this year's deadline.

In addition to outlawing punch cards, the new law requires states to centralize voter registration,

improve access for disabled voters and allow for so-called provisional voting. This last mandate was designed to ensure that people who claim to be registered to vote get a chance to cast their ballots. This has proven particularly tricky to implement.

Many local election officials blame state and federal government for being slow to draw up regulations to guide them through the transition to the new system. They argue, too, that the dollars to implement the changes haven't been coming fast enough. President George W.

Bush's new budget proposal is unlikely to ease their concerns.

It calls for only \$40 million of the \$800 million promised for election improvements at the state level this year.

"They simply do not understand that you cannot even plan what you need to buy until you know how much money you're going to get," says Cook County Clerk David Orr, who heads the state's biggest election jurisdiction. "Everything is behind."

Illinois' voting problems in 2000 appeared to be centered in Cook County and the city of Chicago. A post-2000 election study by the *Chicago Tribune* found Chicago had the most ballot errors of any major

U.S. city. Yet Orr says money woes and disagreements over which election system to purchase mean Cook County won't move away from the much-maligned punch cards until 2006.

"The voters aren't going to see many changes at all," he says.

For voters in jurisdictions where systems have been upgraded, the most noticeable change will be the switch from punch cards to optical scan systems. Rather than punching holes in a ballot with a stylus, voters will color in ovals next to their favored candidates' names — much as they would for a standardized test. The ballot then will be put through a computer that will tell a voter if it's filled out correctly. The aim of this new system is to make sure voters leave the polling place knowing that their votes have been counted.

The 54 jurisdictions that will use optical scan this spring is up from 18 in 2002 and a dozen or so in 2000.

Still, Illinois remains a crazy quilt of election systems. In southern Illinois' Jackson County, for instance, officials have the pieces in place to make the switch. But County Clerk Larry Reinhardt says he won't put the new machines on line until May 2005. He says it's too risky to try out the new technology during a presidential election year. "I don't want to switch before our largest turnout election."

In Chicago's western suburbs, DuPage County voters will cast their ballots on 875 optical scan machines that were purchased for \$4.4 million over the past two years. That county got a jumpstart on the conversion when it received about half of the needed dollars through the Illinois General Assembly's controversial member initiative program at the behest of former Senate President James "Pate" Philip, a Wood Dale Republican. The remaining funds came from the federal government, says DuPage County Election Commission Director Bob Saar.

While officials in the Metro East county across from St. Louis saw no need to scrap the punch card system, they used the federal money to begin

buying optical scan machines, says St. Clair County Clerk Bob Delaney. "We didn't see a problem," he says. "The only reason we're changing is we're getting 60 percent of it paid for."

Nevertheless, he says, the process has been frustrating for local election officials. "There has been no leadership from the state at all. They are arguing over things that should have been decided 10 months ago."

Dan White, executive director of the State Board of Elections, defends the board's handling of the mandate and believes Illinois is moving ahead, in many cases more quickly than other states. He points to the federal government as the culprit. For example, a new Election Assistance Commission — made up of two Democrats and two Republicans — was created to funnel funds to states and counties. However, the U.S. Senate did not confirm the appointees until late last December. "I think the delay from the federal level has made it difficult," he says. "We're looking to them for distribution of funds."

White remains confident, though, that the state will be ready to meet the requirements by 2006. "It's certainly been a very challenging time for election administration," he says. "This is brand new territory for Illinois and 49 other states."

By far, the biggest worry among election officials this year is the requirement for provisional voting. The change is aimed at ensuring that eligible voters get to cast ballots, even if their names don't appear on official precinct rosters. Those ballots, however, may not be counted if election authorities later find the voters weren't eligible. In Cook County, Orr predicts 20,000 people will cast provisional ballots.

Provisional voting is a particular concern in Illinois' university towns, where college students may not know whether or where they are registered. "It's going to be a heck of a lot of work for election judges," says Milton, who oversees voting in McLean County, which is home to Illinois State University and Illinois

Wesleyan University.

White says state election officials discussed the problem in late January and have been able to offer counties some additional guidance on provisional voting. But that assistance is coming a bit too late for some. "The local election authorities are pretty up in the air on a lot of this stuff. All of these changes have pushed the envelope on deadlines," Milton says.

Similarly, in Jackson County, home to Southern Illinois University in Carbondale, Reinhardt says election judges may have to play things by ear. "We do have a lot of inexperienced voters in our county." It may take some time to figure out which provisional votes count, and this could foul up close precinct-level party races.

Delaney calls the whole idea of provisional ballots "hooey." In St. Clair County, he says, provisional ballots won't even be counted in 99 percent of the races. "Those people can vote, but I'm not going to count them."

By contrast, Saar, the DuPage County election chief, likes the concept of provisional voting. For one thing, he says, having those rules will allow judges to keep things moving at polling places. He predicts that 10,000 to 15,000 provisional votes will be cast in DuPage County in the November general election.

This disparity in enthusiasm for the new voting mandates is as great as the disparity in preparation from county to county.

In late December, Jesse Smart, the vice chairman of the Illinois State Board of Elections, made a splash when he presented a check to the Bloomington Election Commission to help offset the cost of more modern optical scan machines. "Everybody now has a new reason to vote — to see the new machines."

Not everybody exactly. At least not yet. □

Kurt Erickson is Statehouse bureau chief for the The Pantagraph of Bloomington.

More with less

Nonprofits that serve Illinois' needy face increasing demand and declining income

by Beverley Scobell

One snowy January day when the temperature was in the low teens, Kathy Straniero and her staff sorted through their nonprofit's small grant-supported funds looking for extra cash to help the people who were streaming through the door. "We were trying to see where we could pull money from to keep people from eviction or from having their utilities shut off," says Straniero, executive director of Together We Cope, a 22-year-old Tinley Park-based organization that provides rent, mortgage and utility assistance to residents in a service area that covers four townships on the Southwest Side of metropolitan Chicago.

That day the staff was lucky. Other days, they have to tap operating funds. "And when you're pulling, pulling, pulling from your operating," she says, "you know it can only go so far."

This story is repeated throughout Illinois, particularly among those nonprofits that offer human services or are religion-based. That sector, which encompasses half of the state's 30,000 nonprofit organizations, has been reeling from the effects of the economic downturn for the past three years.

Unlike Illinois' other nonprofits — including cultural, health, education and advocacy groups — most dollars for those that serve the needy come from government sources, which have been hard hit by the economy. Private donors — from multimillion-dollar foundation and corporate giving programs to individual pledges, large and small — have had to reassess their giving priorities. At

the same time, the loss of jobs has increased the need for services.

Judy Fried, who has run nonprofit organizations for 22 years, says this past year is the worst she's ever experienced. She is executive director for Nicasa, a Lake County substance abuse prevention and treatment organization that serves 7,000 clients directly and 20,000 through community outreach programs. Yet, despite the need, she was forced in December to lay off four employees from her staff of 95.

She isn't alone. "We've got more demand for the basic human needs — food, clothing and shelter — than we've ever experienced before," says Walter Ousley, director of operations for Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of Chicago. He estimates that requests to Catholic Charities from the working poor, those not making enough to cover rent, food and other basic needs, have probably doubled. "All of this is heightened during the winter," he says.

Meanwhile, Together We Cope was left scrambling last year to make up for a shortfall when United Way of Metropolitan Chicago, one of that group's main funders, lost almost 20 percent of its revenues. The umbrella organization took in \$94 million in donor pledges in its 2001 campaign, but only \$72 million in 2002, says Chief Communications Officer Lyn Corbett Fitzgerald. She says 135,000 jobs were lost in the metropolitan area over the last two years, and that is reflected in her agency's revenues.

Straniero saw the pain of job loss

firsthand. "Last year, the second half of the year, people pledged, then they were either laid off, which happened just in droves, or the whole company closed," she says. "All of that promised money was gone. All due to 9-11. The trickle effect didn't really hit us until this year."

In October and November, her group served an average of 500 to 530 people a month in their food pantry. In December, the number jumped to 900, and the demand has remained that high. Last year, she says her group distributed 110 tons of food. The community holds two food drives a year, each collecting 20,000 to 24,000 pounds, "but that's not enough anymore," she says. "We're begging all the time, and buying. It's scary out there."

In fact, a recent Donor's Forum report, *Illinois Nonprofits: A Profile of Charities and Advocacy Organizations*, which surveyed 875 nonprofits statewide in 2002, found that almost all, 86 percent, said obtaining adequate funding is a challenge, with 60 percent reporting it was a major consideration. Four in 10 reported total revenues had decreased. At the same time, 55 percent had experienced an increase in demand for their services and programs.

These statistics are mirrored in a national survey conducted by the Center for Civil Society Studies at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. That survey of 236 U.S. nonprofits found that nearly 90 percent of the organizations reported some degree of fiscal stress over the past year, and more

than half reported that stress as severe.

"The nonprofit sector has been successful in coping, reducing its costs at the same time it has increased its service offerings, but it is under incredible pressure from things it cannot control," says Lester Salamon, who directs the Johns Hopkins Nonprofit Listening Post Project.

Most observers blame the economic fallout from the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, for the pressure on nonprofit organizations, but Robert Otrembiak, executive director of Catholic Charities of Southern Illinois, says his region's human service agencies have been under strain since the late 1990s and the implementation of welfare reform. "Since then, and we continue to see, people coming off welfare but not coming out of poverty." Outside of Cook and Lake counties, more than 400,000 were served by Catholic Charities.

People are using what resources are available to them, using those resources up, he says, but they are not prepared to sustain themselves or a family. "So you end up seeing the long lines at the soup kitchens and people

not able to sustain a job."

Though the Illinois Department of Human Services budget rose slightly, from \$4.9 billion in fiscal year 2003 to \$5.04 billion this fiscal year, aid through the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, which replaced welfare grants, has declined. In a summary prepared for the Donor's Forum of Chicago, the nonprofit Work, Welfare and Families organization based in that city contends that cuts in that assistance program and in the human services department's operational budget for local offices pose the greatest threat to poor families. Over the past three years, the department has cut 776 caseworkers, a reduction of 27 percent, and trimmed funding for community and field operations from \$317 million in fiscal year 2002 to \$265 million in fiscal year 2004. In the same period, temporary assistance funding dropped from \$206 million to \$115 million.

Downstate, these cuts strike even harder. The Donor's Forum report found that nonprofits outside the city of Chicago felt the effects of the economic downturn more readily than

those in the city, as the downstate nonprofits reported greater decreases across all funding sources. In particular, 40 percent of nonprofits outside the city reported decreases in individual giving as compared to 23 percent of Chicago's organizations.

But the problem in Chicago is not a small one. Last year, Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of Chicago served 817,000 people through 170 programs in 160 community-based sites in Cook and Lake counties. In a typical year, state funding makes up almost 74 percent of the Chicago charity's budget, which is nearly \$169 million. In 2002, the state pared 2 percent from that organization's budget, to about \$110 million. The Chicago organization employs 2,600 people full- and part-time. Through June of last year, it had laid off about 300 people and closed five day care centers, a family shelter, an adult shelter and an alternative high school. It also had to discontinue such services as credit counseling, physicians' referrals and job training.

Many nonprofits are coping by looking for every dollar and trying to be as efficient as possible. For instance,

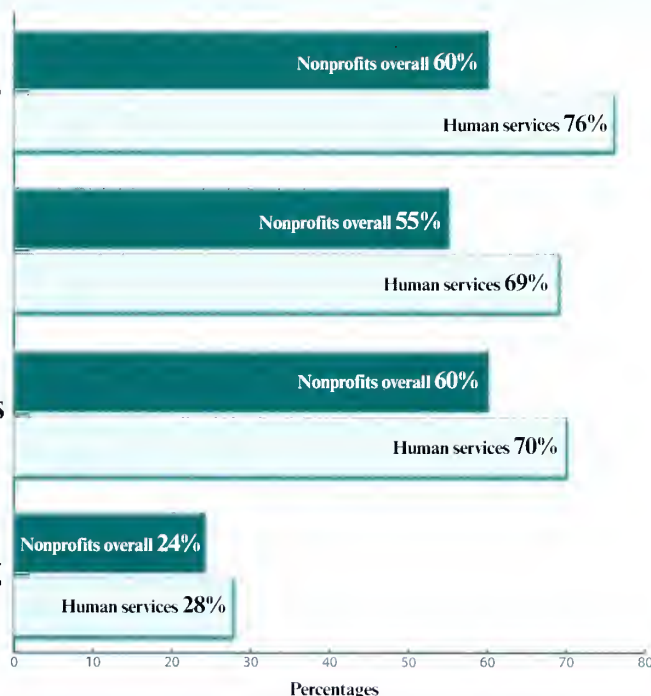
Illinois nonprofits

Severe trouble getting funds

Increased demand*

Increased expenses

Deficit spending



*over three years
Source: Donors Forum of Chicago

United Way, the largest nongovernmental health and human services funder in the Chicago area, reorganized by consolidating 54 community entities. That organization also centralized pledge-processing systems and employee payroll and benefits. "It looks as though it will save about \$3 million annually," says Fitzgerald. "And that goes right back into the community."

Meanwhile, the board of directors for Fried's substance abuse nonprofit has asked her to discontinue an after-school program for teens because the organization is losing a \$97,000 state grant that supports the 52-week program. She says she is resisting the idea of cutting a program that has proven its worth in helping teenagers stay in school and stay off drugs, but "there is just no new funding available."

Grantmakers have been trying to fill these funding holes in an effort to keep nonprofits' programs running. In 2001, there were 2,544 foundations and corporate giving programs in Illinois with total assets of \$20.1 billion. But these groups face problems of their own. When the economy went sour, many of those donors focused their resources on supporting operating costs to keep nonprofits from going under. But some foundations found themselves looking at their own revenue holes resulting from a drop in the stock market and the crash of the dotcoms.

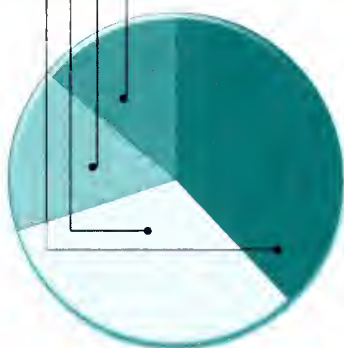
For instance, the Michael Reese Health Trust, which focuses on serving Chicago's central city, saw its asset base diminish by some \$19 million. At the same time, that foundation received a third more applications for grants. Furthermore, the requests were larger per nonprofit provider. Nevertheless, the trust's board elected to continue funding grants at about the same level as the previous year. To help meet the greater need, administration costs were slashed to "bare bones," says Dorothy Gardner, the trust's president. The staff agreed to forgo a raise and keep operating expenses to a minimum.

State lawmakers also recognize that many service providers, even the large ones with multiple funding sources, are having difficulty meeting their missions. "One of the reasons they are hurting," says Sen. Miguel del Valle, a

Income sources

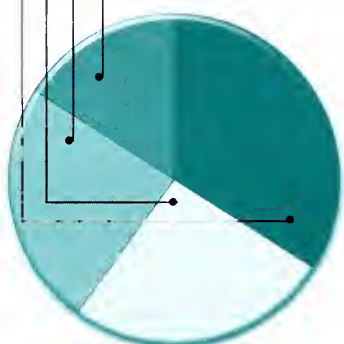
All nonprofits

38 % Donations
32 % Miscellaneous
16 % Fees, dues and sales
14 % Government



Human service nonprofits

34 % Government
26 % Donations
24 % Miscellaneous
16 % Fees, dues and sales



Source: Donors Forum of Chicago

Chicago Democrat who co-chairs the Latino Caucus, "is that not only has the state not kept up with the rate of inflation, but the private sector is giving less and less."

The largest nonprofit in Sen. del Valle's district is Humboldt Park-based Casa Central, a Latino services agency that receives about \$13.5 million of its \$19 million budget from the state. That group was on the verge of closing its 156-bed nursing home after the state cut its Medicaid reimbursement rates in 2002. That joint state and federal program contributes to health costs of the poor. The nursing home is the only one in the city, and the region, geared specifically for the Latino elderly

community, says Ann Alvarez, Casa Central's president. Because state payments account for 100 percent of the nursing home's budget, the cut created a nearly \$500,000 deficit.

But Alvarez is hopeful. The nursing home is seeking certification that would allow the facility to receive federal money through Medicare, which covers seniors. She believes the nursing home can remain open with that and other changes.

Beyond the services they provide, nonprofits represent a major force in this state's economy. The Donor's Forum report is the third in a series that looks at the nonprofit sector. The 2001 study looked at charities that are required to report income to the Internal Revenue Service. Those nonprofits, with gross receipts exceeding \$25,000, account for about one-third of the state's total, excluding most churches. They employed 444,000 workers, accounting for 7.5 percent of paid employment in the state and \$13.4 billion in wages. That group reported \$78 billion in assets and about \$36 billion in expenses. If congregations, other charities and advocacy groups were counted, the economic impact of nonprofits would be even greater.

And, as difficult as the past three years have been, the Donor's Forum report found that the majority of nonprofits report they are able, so far, to stay afloat. And with a more robust stock market of late, some foundations are even seeing their assets return to normal levels, and in some instances increase substantially.

But even as there are some signs that the worst economic times are over, Robert Otrembiak of Catholic Charities finds little comfort in the news. Historically, he says, rural areas — his entire 28-county region is defined by the state as rural — are a year or two behind metropolitan areas economically. "We perhaps haven't even felt the worst of it yet here in southern Illinois, and we certainly won't see the best of it for another year or two at least," he says. "And that's the frightening part. We will be dealing with things long after metropolitan areas in the state are long past them." □

SERVE AND PROTECT

*From one end of the state to the other
community programs aim to make a difference*

COMFORT CAFÉ *Program feeds folks, body and soul*

by Marcia Frellick

Lisa Nigro was a 28-year-old beat cop in Chicago's North Side Uptown neighborhood when she resolved to do something for the hungry and homeless she encountered every day.

"All this finger-pointing about 'those people' drove me crazy and still does," she says. So Nigro started pulling a child's wagon stocked with beef and turkey sandwiches, bagels with cream cheese and coffee. Later, she gave away more meals from the back of her SUV. She listened to folks' stories, and decided that feeding them was only a beginning. A local businessman gave her the space to open a help center, and in 1990 she quit the police force.

Now, 15 years later, her inspiration has evolved into a business with a \$1.3 million budget. Inspiration Corp. is the umbrella group that operates two — and soon three — cafés in Chicago where homeless people are not only

fed, but trained to cook and serve appetizing meals.

At the Inspiration Café and the Living Room Café on the South Side, participants are promised training for jobs in the restaurant industry in an atmosphere of "dignity and respect." The Inspiration Corp. trains 30 people at a time to cook and serve meals to homeless people and the general public. Paid staff and about 400 volunteers each year feed and train nearly 300 hungry people who feast on such dishes as spicy fried catfish, potato corn chowder and ginger-crumble-topped berry cobbler.

There's more simmering in the cafés these days than the pot roast. Inspiration Café, which relies on funding from the United Way and other corporate, foundation and

individual contributions, developed a line of coffee with the help of a \$25,000 research grant from Chicago-based Boeing Corp. The signature silver bags are now ready for sale to individuals and companies that have coffee service.

And workers are preparing the site and staff for Café Too, which will serve meals seven days a week starting in May when it opens at a storefront location in Uptown. That restaurant will be a visible component of its namesake 12-week course on the basics of food preparation and interpersonal skills, which is offered six times a year. Café Too graduates, who are trained by professional chefs, receive a Food Service Sanitation Manager Certificate from the city of Chicago.

Photograph courtesy of the Inspiration Corp.



Inspiration Café Manager Harry Madix and his wife Tasha got a fresh start through Inspiration Corp. programs. The couple, who met at the café, are pictured with their children.

The corporation also offers tutoring, counseling and an introduction to such healthy living activities as yoga and massage therapy. And it offers housing. To qualify, guests must get a referral from a shelter, be drug and alcohol free for 30 days, have no recent violent offenses and show a willingness to move forward. Inspiration Corp. now has 15 single units and, with grant money, will double housing space this

year, including family units, says Laura Singer, associate director of Inspiration Corp. The corporation subsidizes rent or pays it outright, depending on a guest's employment status. Guests who move into the next 15 units will face a two-year deadline to get a job and permanent housing, she says.

"Housing is usually offered as the crown jewel after you have completed various programs," says Director of Development Angela Bowen. "Here, it's housing first and then other services are wrapped around that. How are you supposed to find a job when you don't even have an address?"

The promise of dignity and respect made all the difference for Inspiration Café's manager, Harry Madix. Less than a decade ago, he was sleeping in a park. Like most of those who come to the Inspiration Café, he had had a job and housing until his life crumbled around him.

Madix lived in a two-flat in Evanston and had worked for the Chicago Transit Authority for 18 years when he was fired in 1985. He says after his wife was murdered, he stopped caring and stopped paying the mortgage.

"I checked out of responsibility," Madix says as he sips coffee at the bright wood-and-windows café at 4554 N. Broadway. "I was

in pure hell — cocaine, reefer, alcohol." Madix ducked into a series of shelters and in 1995 was referred to the café, where he says he found hope and people who would change his life.

"The way you're treated there — they hold you accountable," Madix says. "They wrap their arms around you. In most companies you can't talk to the executive director. Here you get on the boat with them."

Madix worked his way up in the program and met the woman he would marry. Also battling addiction, she was seeking help at the café, too. Now alumni, they rent an apartment where they are raising their two children.

Madix's success story demonstrates how the café model works. The program fits in with the city of Chicago's aim to end homelessness by 2012. And the ability of Inspiration Corp. to play a role in that effort, says Nigro, who describes herself as a "grass-roots-kind-of-gal," means her vision has grown into something larger than she ever imagined.

Her bright red Radio Flyer hangs from the ceiling of Inspiration Café, a reminder to all who enter of what can happen when one person puts a vision into motion. □

Marcia Frellick is an editor at the Chicago Sun-Times.

Photograph courtesy of the Inspiration Corp.



Former beat cop Lisa Nigro planted the seeds for Inspiration Café when she began feeding the homeless sandwiches out of a little red wagon.



CITIZEN ARREST

Class tells tales of the cop's job

by Peg Kowalczyk

Cops do things we don't do: It's just a matter of time before they're standing over a dead body. Cops know things we don't know: If a rapist takes a victim from point A to point B, he probably intends to kill her.

In the southern section of the state, some Illinoisans are learning the gritty truth about what police do and what they know in an intensive 13-session, 40-hour Citizens Police Academy, offered each spring and fall through the Carbondale Police Department. The outreach program, which has graduated 350 citizens since 1994, increases awareness of the challenges faced by police officers in the line of duty. And it has changed how some view the men and women in blue.

Educating the public about what cops really do is not a new idea — the first efforts were inspired by the Police Night School in Devon, England. In Illinois, police departments in Champaign, Normal and several of Chicago's suburbs offer similar programs.

In Carbondale, program graduates volunteer for community safety initiatives, including a kid-care fingerprinting project. The Citizens Police Academy, which costs the department \$5,960 a year, also provides training for Community Service Officers, young men and women who are being groomed for police service.

"It's not like on television," the 22 class participants hear each week. A session at the firing range verifies that officers who shoot while leaping from buildings aren't from Carbondale — or any other real-life police department. "It's difficult to shoot while walking," stresses veteran Patrol Officer Dee Cross.

Discharging a firearm from a moving vehicle? Official department policy in Carbondale prohibits the practice. "If the driver is killed, you've just unleashed a 3,000-pound weapon," says Cross.

She demonstrates why bad guys avoid

her in alleys. "Just tap my leg when you've had enough," Cross says with a smile to class member Rhett Ellett during a demonstration of pressure points as a defensive tactic. Using only her hands — and 80 hours of pressure point training — Cross easily brings the larger and heavier Ellett, who is considering police work as a profession, to his knees.

"I just shot someone going for his license," moans class member Jayme Frey during a firearms training simulation. Frey scanned for weapons, but the simulated crowd had become unruly and she struggled to maintain composure. "I was scared. I had no idea how to respond," she says of the split-second judgment required.

Frey, a first-year assistant state's attorney for Jackson County, enrolled in the class so she could better convey an officer's perspective to a jury. "No one is shooting at me in the courtroom," Frey says. "I see the defendant cleaned up in court. The arresting officer sees the guy who just beat up his wife, threatened to kill him and is out on the street the next week."

Patrol officers, special agents and detectives cover other topics, including survival tactics, armed encounters, crime scenes, gangs, hostage situations and drug enforcement. Each academy member also goes on a ride-along — a shift in a squad car with an on-duty patrol officer.

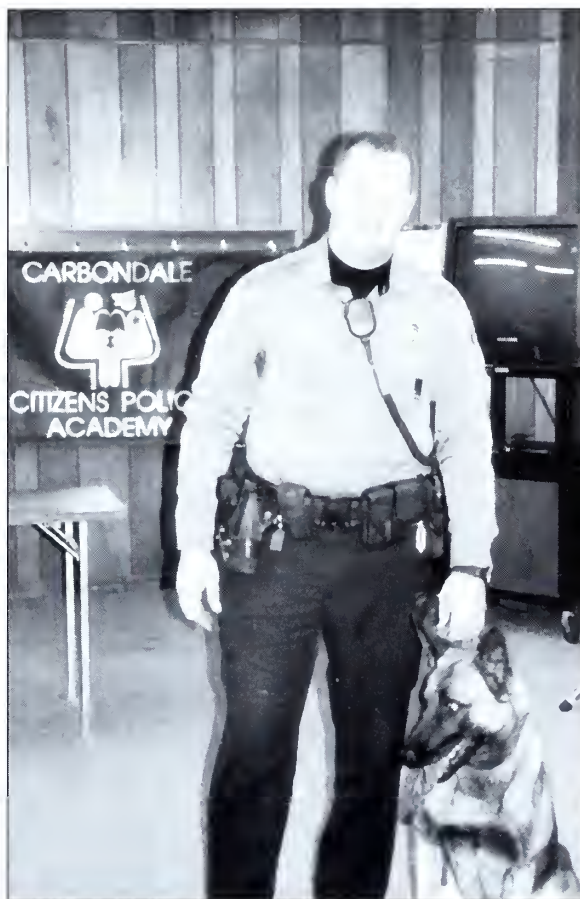
On one evening ride-along, Carbondale Officer Ashley Noto, who has been a cop for three years, cruises the alleys of an east-side housing project. It is a neighborhood where traffic violations yield drugs, weapons, outstanding warrants for arrest and an inherent disdain for cops. When crowds converge, the insults fly. "We get 'pig,' 'Casper,' you name it — and you would get a few of your own," Noto says.

But this night, District 10 was relatively quiet, generating a burglary, a hit-and-run, a traffic violator with an expired domestic order of protection and a no-headlights

speeder who "only had one drink." Noto issued only warnings.

A class session on verbal judo addresses the perceived tough demeanor and the physical distance officers maintain when communicating. "It's a survival tactic, not a bad attitude," says Sgt. Keith Stiff, who has been on the force since 1989. "A cop's gun is only his as long as you can't get to it." Routine traffic stops — situations that seem unlikely to be dangerous — can quickly erupt

Photograph courtesy of the Carbondale Police Department



Sgt. Jeff Grubbs and Tommy, a Belgian Malinois, prepare to do drug search demonstrations for the Citizens Police Academy.

into violence. Stiff plays disturbing videotape of a traffic stop in Alabama: An officer's murder was recorded from his patrol car.

"A routine traffic stop is anything but routine," says class member Janet Vaught, Carbondale's city clerk, after a role-play activity. The class gathered on a deserted gravel lot with a patrol car siren sounding and the spotlight trained on a suspect's vehicle. Fake gun in hand, "Officer" Vaught's instructions were to respond to the situation. "It had a huge impact on

me," Vaught says. "Officers have an immense responsibility that I will never have in my life."

In the training center, the class passes around evidence bags of cocaine, crack and cannabis. "Drugs are big business," says Tom McNamara, deputy director of the Southern Illinois Enforcement Group, a regional drug enforcement task force. He points to items on a table: lithium battery, duct tape, coffee filters, Mountain Dew bottle, Morton salt, tubing,

liquid fire, thermos, 1,000 pseudoephedrine tablets. "You're looking at a meth lab, except for the heat source," he says. Methamphetamine-making can be explosive, literally. "It burns like lye," McNamara says of the potential flammable fallout of tapping anhydrous ammonia, another ingredient of methamphetamine.

Looking more Hell's Angel than cop, the former undercover agent once had a \$35,000 price on his head. In a job where anonymity translates into survival, McNamara's name is not on the deed to his house nor on the utility bills. He is selective about where he is seen in public. He attends the symphony; he doesn't attend sporting events. A code word warns his family when he has to walk away from a situation.

Undercover work is far from glamorous, assures the burly McNamara. "Unless," he says, "sitting on a cockroach-infested couch with a guy named Lucky from the Son of Satan motorcycle gang and talking about your 'bitch' is glamorous."

Gaining a realistic perspective is what the class is all about. "Most don't really know the dangers officers face in every community, every day," says Vaught. "If everyone could experience, firsthand, what it's like to be a police officer, I think a lot of perceptions would be changed." □

Peg Kowalczyk is a Carbondale free-lance writer and a graduate of the Citizens Police Academy.

NO MORE VICTIMS

Lifetime supervision of sex offenders would offer Illinois communities greater protection

by Lyn M. Schollett

Last year, more than 13,000 rape victims and their loved ones walked through the doors of Illinois' rape crisis centers. Each sought protection and healing. And each sought to prevent rape from happening again, to themselves or anyone else.

Nearly one-third of rape victims develop Post Traumatic Stress Disorder. They are 13 times more likely than other crime victims to attempt suicide. Though rape can destroy a victim's sense of connection to the world, the amazing thing is that victims do survive. They overcome fear, depression and disruptions in their relationships. Sometimes they face the loss of friends, family and jobs.

Still, they cope. They cope better when they have access to a broad range of support systems and when the criminal justice system can provide safety and the assurance that the rapist won't hurt them or anyone else again.

To ensure this, the Illinois Coalition Against Sexual Assault supports long-term, or lifetime, supervision of

convicted sex offenders. The reality is that once a sex offender has raped one person, he often goes on to brutalize another woman or child. For many offenders, sexual assault and abuse are part of a lifelong pattern of behavior.

The Illinois Department of Corrections estimates that nearly half of incarcerated sex offenders will be released over the next five years, and that 44 percent of them will return to the prison system within three years.

In fact, sex offenders who rape adults have an average of seven victims, while sex offenders who abuse children have an average of 116 victims, according to "The Adolescent Sex Offender: An Overview," an analysis by forensic psychiatrist Jeffrey Metzner that was published in the journal *Interchange*. The conclusion reached from this and other studies is that sex offenders are likely to rape again and again. The only way to stop rape is to stop rapists.

We know two things. The impact of sexual victimization is devastating. And the chance is high that a convicted sex

offender will inflict agony again.

While specialized treatment for sex offenders may decrease the likelihood that some rapists will commit other offenses, such treatment is hard to find and is not always effective. Even treatment providers agree that counseling alone is not enough. The best option for preventing sex offenders from continuing to attack is to stop the behavior that so often precedes a sex offense.

What can the state of Illinois do? We can monitor the conduct of those sex offenders who have been released. We can ensure that a child sex offender does not engage in behavior designed to attract children. We can talk with the offenders' friends to ensure that they are age-appropriate. We can make sure the offender really lives where he says he lives and works where he says he works — and is registered there. We can find out whether his leisure activities are appropriate and legal. We can ban pornography from his home. We can assess the offender's understanding that his behavior was wrong and was his

An Illinois timeline

1975:	1977:	1978:	1983:	1984:
<i>Rape Victims Emergency Treatment Act signed.</i>	<i>Illinois Coalition of Women Against Rape formed.</i>	<i>Rape Shield Act for rape victims signed.</i>	<i>Illinois Criminal Sexual Assault Act is signed, revising Illinois rape and incest statutes.</i>	<i>Illinois Violent Crime Victims Assistance Act signed, making funds available for counseling and advocacy.</i>

Source: *The Illinois Coalition Against Sexual Assault*

fault. We can confirm that the offender has a plan to prevent recidivism and is following it.

Such long-term monitoring is affordable and effective. If we have more personnel to monitor more sex offenders more intensively for a longer period of time, sex offenders will have less opportunity to assault again. If their behavior is monitored and their communities are well informed, offenders will be less able to isolate a woman, to cajole or coerce a child, to stalk a teen or to manipulate a juvenile into becoming more vulnerable.

Detractors raise two potential barriers, neither of which should derail this critical mission.

Some suggest that monitoring sex offenders will be a complicated task requiring staff with advanced degrees and costly training. Yet, rather than focusing on intensive academic work, this training should focus on identifying the cunning, everyday tactics offenders use to attract potential victims, including the following examples from Illinois:

- The offender who holds a weekly yard sale, selling only children's toys;
- The offender who has a full-time job in compliance with his probation at the only convenience store near a school;
- The offender who never registered, befriended a single mother and moved in with her to gain access to her prepubescent son.

Intercepting and stopping this behavior does not require a cadre of psychiatrists and psychologists. What it does require is monitors who are trained to identify and stop these insidious patterns of targeting victims.

A second concern is that long-term supervision is expensive. In reality, supervising released sex offenders is far

more economical than bearing the cost of victimization. The national average cost for each rape victim is estimated to be \$110,000, according to a report by the U.S. Department of Justice. These costs encompass everything from police services to medical care to incarceration of the offender.

If we do not invest in the resources to prevent repeated offenses, we will instead be faced with an exponential increase in the number of victims and the cost of their victimization. And perhaps more of the expense of increased monitoring could be borne by sex offenders, instead of by the victims or the taxpayers. Illinois cannot afford *not* to supervise its released sex offenders.

We live in a time of heightened awareness of safety concerns on a national and even international level. We apprehensively watch the color-coded indicator of our risk of terrorist attack. Ironically, we do not adequately address the more immediate, daily threat of attack in our towns and communities — a threat that is most likely to be inflicted by a familiar face down the street. For the average little girl in Illinois, the possibility of being bombed is remote compared to the one in three chance that she will be sexually abused in her lifetime.

For each sex offender who is prevented from raping again, a woman or child in Illinois is spared the physical and emotional trauma of this heinous crime. And as a state, we would move one step closer to reaching the ultimate goal of the anti-rape movement — no more victims. □

Lyn M. Schollett is general counsel for the Illinois Coalition Against Sexual Assault.

Recent actions

In January, Gov. Rod Blagojevich announced he will dedicate \$2.6 million for the State Police so that agency can clear out a backlog of DNA evidence from nearly 1,500 sexual assault victims. And last year, he signed a series of significant measures on sexual assault.

Among them:

“No means no”

Clarifies a person's right to withdraw consent at any time during the course of sexual activity.

Statutes of limitations

Extends criminal statute of limitations in cases of childhood sexual abuse until the victim turns 38. Extends civil statute of limitations until the victim turns 28 or five years after discovery.

Gender violence

Creates a civil cause of action for victims of gender-based violence.

Sentencing option

Removes the probation option for a defendant convicted of criminal sexual assault against a family member.

No contact

Creates a “stay away” order for victims who don't have a relationship with the offender.

Adoption consent

Enables a victim to put a child conceived through rape up for adoption without the consent of the offender.

Source: The Illinois Coalition Against Sexual Assault

1988:	1991:	1992:	1998:	1999:	2000:
Polygraph examination of sexual assault victims banned.	Civil statute of limitations for adult survivors of child sexual abuse signed.	Citizens vote “yes” for the Illinois Constitutional Amendment on victims’ rights.	Giving a person a “date rape drug” before a sexual assault becomes an aggravating factor to the crime.	Criminal statute of limitations in sexual assault of an adult is extended to 10 years past the time of the rape. It is extended to 10 years past the age of 18 for minor victims.	Minor sexual assault victims 13 through 17 years old permitted to consent to release of their evidence collection kit so that it may be analyzed.
Hearsay exception granted to child sexual assault victims under the age of 13.					

○ BIT

Aldo DeAngelis

The former south suburban state Senator died February 13. He was 72. DeAngelis, a Republican from Olympia Fields, was elected to the Senate in 1978 and served until his 1996 defeat by Democrat Debbie De Francesco Halvorson.

DeAngelis was a businessman who rose to assistant majority leader to former President James "Pate" Philip. He remained active in politics, serving as a Republican state central committeeman.

NEW LAWMAKERS

Careen Gordon, a Democratic attorney from Coal City, will represent the 75th district in the Illinois House, replacing Mary K. O'Brien, who was appointed to the Appellate Court for the 3rd judicial circuit.



Careen Gordon

Lisa Dugan, a Bradley Democrat and former village board member, was appointed to replace John "Phil" Novak as the 79th House district representative. Novak left the legislature to chair the Illinois Pollution Control Board.



Lisa Dugan

Robert Pritchard, a Republican from Sycamore, was appointed to fill the 70th House district seat of David A. Wirsing, who died in November. Pritchard is the former Dekalb County Board chairman. He owns and operates a family farm in Hinckley, and has held management positions at Monsanto Co. and DeKalb Genetics.



Robert Pritchard

BIG PEOPLE ON CAMPUS

James Stukel, president of the University of Illinois for the past nine years, will leave the job next February. The 15th president of the state's flagship university, Stukel is an alumnus with a master's and a doctorate in engineering from the U of I at Urbana-Champaign.

After serving in a series of administrative posts, the Joliet native was named chancellor of the Chicago campus in 1991, where he served until being named president in 1995.

During Stukel's tenure, Sangamon State University was added to the system in 1995, becoming the University of Illinois at Springfield. He also guided expansion of the east Chicago campus by about 50 percent and dedicated more than \$1 billion to development of a south campus.

Stukel oversaw \$640 million in capital improvement projects at all three campuses.

Nearly 70,000 students are enrolled on the university's campuses. Several thousand more are enrolled in off-campus offerings.



James Stukel

Nancy Cantor, the first woman chancellor within the University of Illinois system, resigned her position at the Urbana-Champaign campus to head Syracuse University.

In August she will take over as the first woman president and chancellor of that private New York university, which serves 18,000 students with a budget of \$715 million. She succeeds Kenneth Shaw, who is retiring after 13 years in the post. He served as chancellor (now the office title is president) of Southern Illinois University from 1979 to 1986.

Cantor is a psychologist by training and received her doctorate degree from Stanford University in California. She came to the University of Illinois in 2001 from the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, where she had served as dean of the graduate school, then provost and executive vice president.

David Werner, chancellor of Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville, will retire in June. The search committee expects to interview candidates beginning late this month. Werner, who was named chancellor in 1997, has spent his academic career at the Edwardsville campus, joining the business faculty in 1968 when the university was only 3 years old.

Enrollment at the Metro East university is up nearly 5 percent — 13,295 last fall, the ninth consecutive year of growth.

AWARD

John Y. Simon, executive director of the Ulysses S. Grant Association and a history professor at Southern Illinois University Carbondale, has won a prestigious national Lincoln Prize. The special award, recognizing his work on his 26-volume *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant*, carries with it a \$20,000 prize.

Philanthropists Richard Gilder and Lewis Lehrman in 1990 founded and endowed the Lincoln Prize, which is administered by the Lincoln and Soldiers Institute at Gettysburg College.

A three-member historians' jury that recommended the winners for the Lincoln Prize called *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant* a "magnificent project." Simon and his staff are working on the 27th and 28th volumes in the collection, which is published by the Southern Illinois University Press.

BIT

Steve Neal

The veteran political columnist and author died February 18. He was 54.

At the time of his death, Neal wrote for the *Chicago Sun-Times*, where he was known for a sharp edge, snappy one-line leads and an uncanny ability to recall obscure bits of political history. The Hinsdale resident also had written politics and covered the White House for the *Chicago Tribune*.

The Oregon native's books include *Harry and Ike: The Partnership That Remade the Postwar World*, *Dark Horse: A Biography of Wendell Willkie* and *Rolling on the River: The Best of Steve Neal*.

A PPOINTMENTS

Gov. Rod Blagojevich filled a nearly year-old vacancy on the Illinois Gaming Board shortly before the panel opened bids for the state's 10th riverboat casino license.

William E. Fanning of Vernon Hills will fill the seat designated for a certified public accountant. The term ends July 1, 2006. Fanning heads a public accounting and business consulting firm in Barrington. He replaces **Ira Rogal**, who resigned last March.

The governor also appointed three Southern Illinois University graduates to that institution's board of trustees.

The new members are **Roger Tedrick**, who owns a Mt. Vernon insurance company; East Alton attorney **John Simmons**, who lives in Alton; and dentist **Marilyn Jackson** of Crete.

They replace Herrin resident **John Brewster**; Springfield resident **Gene Callahan**, a former lobbyist for Major League Baseball and former aide to Alan Dixon and Paul Simon; and former chair **Molly D'Esposito**, whose husband is a lobbyist, causing her to resign to avoid conflict with the state's new ethics law. Brewster's and Callahan's terms expired.

The board is expected to elect its new chair this month. The Illinois Senate must approve the appointments.

SHIFTS AT THE TOP

Fernando Grillo, who had been director of the Illinois Department of Professional Regulation, was tapped to head a new agency that Gov. Rod Blagojevich created by merging five state offices.

Named the Illinois Department of Financial and Professional Regulation, the consolidated agency includes banks and real estate, professional regulation, financial institutions and insurance. The new agency also will administer the Comprehensive Health Insurance Plan (CHIP), which provides health insurance for Illinoisans who have pre-existing health conditions or disabilities that prevent them from getting private coverage. And it will oversee regulation and licensing of financial institutions, real estate and insurance businesses and other professionals.

The consolidation was aimed at cutting spending for fiscal year 2005, in part by ending duplicated functions within the various agencies. The governor's budget recommendation called for \$85.8 million in expenses for the new department. The former agencies were budgeted for a combined \$99.8 million in 2004.

Roxanne Nava, who had been director of the Illinois Department of Financial Institutions, will oversee the governor's "Opportunity Returns" program that aims to create jobs in the 10 regions. She will assist Department of Commerce and Economic Opportunity Director **Jack Lavin**.

J. Anthony Clark resigned as director of the Illinois Department of Insurance to return to the private sector. An attorney from Chicago, he took over the agency in March 2003.

For update news see the Illinois Issues Web site at
<http://illinoisissues.uis.edu>



University of Illinois at Springfield Director, Institute for Legislative Studies Center for State Policy and Leadership

The University of Illinois at Springfield (UIS) seeks a Director for its Institute for Legislative Studies. Its focus is the Illinois General Assembly, Congress, and the legislatures of other states. The Institute has a strong commitment to carrying out applied and scholarly research and public affairs outreach and education, designed to educate students, political scientists, practitioners, and citizens. Duties are to develop and administer grant, contract, and university-supported Institute activities in research, training, public service/education, and technical assistance and to administer the Illinois Legislative Staff Intern Program.

Minimum qualifications include: five years university teaching; a Ph.D. in Political Science; a strong record of research, scholarship, and publication; eligibility for a tenured appointment in the Political Studies program at the rank of associate or full professor; experience working with the legislative branch of state government; expertise in comparative state politics, legislative process, policy development, and/or political behavior; a successful track record of securing and managing grants and contracts from external public and private sources; three years administrative experience as a Department Chair, as project director of grants or contracts, or in another administrative position of comparable scope and responsibility. The position is a continuing, full-time, 12 month administrative position. The salary is competitive and dependent on qualifications.

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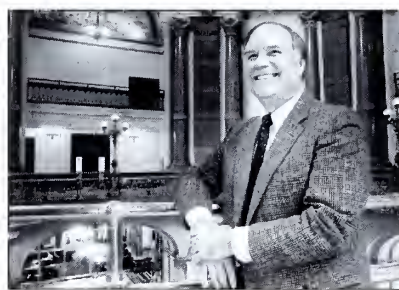
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Charles N. Wheeler III



The governor dabbles in the art of fiscal illusion

by Charles N. Wheeler III

For many years, Elvis Presley was a Las Vegas mainstay, drawing admiring legions to casino showrooms. His No. 1 fan in Illinois — Gov. Rod Blagojevich — may be no match for The King vocally, but the governor's proposed budget for the fiscal year starting July 1 would do credit to another Strip headliner, magician David Copperfield.

"Illusion," Copperfield says, "is the art of creating the impossible, making fantasy a reality."

In the partial spending plan he unveiled a few weeks ago to the Illinois General Assembly, the governor seems to have accepted the challenge.

Ostensibly, the proposed FY 2005 operations budget — a capital plan is forthcoming later this month — closed what Blagojevich said was a looming \$1.7 billion gap between anticipated resources and required spending, all without raising income or sales taxes or cutting vital state services.

How did the governor appear to achieve the impossible?

To help make ends meet, Blagojevich called for almost \$800 million in new revenue in FY05. Some \$483 million would come from another round of tax and fee increases on the state's business community, including \$25 million in gaming taxes from a new Chicago-area casino. He also projected garnering some \$200 million more from the federal government, chiefly in increased reimbursements for spending on

For starters, his proposed budget is not really balanced, at least not as the term has been used for decades.

hospital care and social services for the poor. In addition, he's counting on \$280 million in natural revenue growth, mostly in income and sales taxes, and \$350 million from selling the 10th riverboat license.

On the spending side, Blagojevich wants to cut more than \$1 billion, about three-quarters of it by consolidating some agencies and reorganizing others, operating state government more efficiently and reducing the state workforce, particularly administrators. He also proposed cutting funding levels for tourism promotion and for open land acquisition, and closing the Vandalia prison, the St. Charles youth center, and the Tinley Park Mental Health Center. In addition, he would trim the state's pension contributions by some \$268 million and pare \$130 million from debt service, the dollars the state uses to repay past borrowing.

The new revenue, coupled with the spending cuts and internal reallocations, would close the pending shortfall, the governor asserted, and provide extra cash to boost education spending by \$400 million, meet an estimated \$690 million jump in Medicaid costs, direct \$50 million to job training and bankroll more state troopers and parole agents.

Even after the governor's 72-minute performance, though, wisps of fantasy still floated around his plan.

For starters, his proposed budget is not really balanced, at least not as the term has been used for decades. Traditionally, one compares the checkbook balance on June 30, the end of a fiscal year, with the bills still remaining to be paid. If the money in the bank is less than what needs to be paid, it's a budgetary deficit. The governor projects an ending balance of \$369 million on June 30, 2005, to cover \$850 million in bills — a budgetary deficit of \$481 million. Granted, that is a \$23 million improvement over the \$504 million deficit estimate for FY04, but it's still a deficit.

Consider also some of the iffy aspects of his revenue plan:

- New taxes and fees on business. The Illinois business community was saddled with more than \$700 million in higher taxes and fees last year to help shore up the FY04 budget. After the 2003 hit, the governor may have a harder time convincing lawmakers to take another bite out of business,

especially in an election year.

- Increased federal reimbursements. Blagojevich hopes a newly enacted hospital assessment will pull down another \$80 million in FY05, while switching to a fee-for-service payment format, instead of blanket contracts, for social service providers will earn the state another \$60 million. But both need approval of federal officials who have become increasingly critical of creative state schemes to grab more federal dollars.

- Projected revenue growth of \$280 million. Last fall, the administration pegged growth in the three largest general funds revenue sources — income, sales and utility taxes — at \$458 million for the current fiscal year, and expected \$20 million more from lottery sales and \$213 million more from riverboat taxes. The governor's proposed budget quietly reduced those estimates by \$418 million. The moral? It's easy to guess wrong when economic recovery passes you by.

More question marks surround his proposed spending cuts:

***If the money in the bank
is less than what
needs to be paid, it's a
budgetary deficit.***

- Won't local lawmakers block his proposed prison closings? Vandalia Correctional Center, for example, is on the home turf of Senate Republican Leader Frank Watson from Greenville, who has pledged to fight the closing.

- Can the governor short the state's mandated contribution to the pension funds? Blagojevich aides argue that the state sold \$10 billion in pension obligation bonds last year at a lower interest rate than expected, thus saving some \$860 million in interest payments over the 30-year life of the bonds. They want to use a quarter of the projected savings to reduce this year's contribu-

tion, a proposal that runs afoul of a state law requiring the state to kick in the full \$2.4 billion.

- By restructuring payment terms for some state borrowing, Blagojevich will be able to save some \$130 million in FY05 by paying only interest, and no principal, on the borrowing, a practice called backloading. Like a homeowner with a balloon mortgage, Blagojevich is trading smaller initial payments for a mountain of debt down the road for some future governor. Meanwhile, money that would have begun paying off the borrowing instead will go for day-to-day spending, similar to one's paying for the groceries with a credit card.

Senate Republicans have decried the practice, to no avail. Perhaps they should ask the real David Copperfield to visit Springfield and make the debt disappear. □

Charles N. Wheeler III is director of the Public Affairs Reporting program at the University of Illinois at Springfield.

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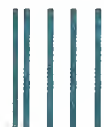
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